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SECRET HISTORY

OF THE

COURT AND GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA

UNDER THE

EMPERORS ALEXANDER AND NICHOLAS.

By J. H. SCHNITZLER.

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SECRET

HISTORY OF RUSSIA

UNDER THE

EMPERORS ALEXANDER AND NICHOLAS.

CHAPTER I.

PESTEL, AND THE INSURRECTION IN THE SOUTH.

THAT a country long independent, accustomed to perform an important part in the world, assuming the title of republic, and inviting all the nobles, its only citizens, to take an active part in the government,—that such a country, after being vanquished and brought under proconsular authority, should bear impatiently the yoke of a conqueror, who, to fill up the measure of misfortune, has been its enemy and rival for ages, is what cannot reasonably be a cause of astonishment to anybody. The greatest wisdom, added to a continuous clemency, can alone triumph over such reminiscences and lull into forgetfulness such just and bitter regrets. But in Russia a profound obedience, akin to servility, and emanating from the religious sentiment, is the

habitual condition of all. The people have never thought of escaping from this thraldom; for, in their opinion, the czar, the head and defender of the orthodox faith, is the representative of God on earth: this very faith, the inheritance of their fathers, is cherished by the Russian people as their most precious treasure; it is the only one of which they have enjoyed undisputed possession, and that foreign intrusion has abstained from injuring. As long as the clergy remain the guarantees of the orthodoxy of the monarch, his person—between which and the people, however, a court, aides-de-camp, and a numerous guard interpose,—may certainly be liable to danger, and history has preserved on this head the memory of awful catastrophes; but his throne is safe and has nothing to fear from revolutions. The narration of the events of which we have undertaken to give a description will furnish fresh proofs in support of this assertion.

The apathy of the people and the soldiery, which, excepting the officers, is composed of ancient serfs belonging to the crown or to individuals, had caused the plot framed at St. Petersburg to fall to the ground. The north of Russia was again quiet; no trace of disturbance was visible in the provinces; everything seemed restored to its usual state of tranquillity; and yet everybody was far from being reassured: the nation felt it was ever standing on the brink of a volcano. The eruption had just proved abortive on one point, but sooner or later it might shew itself on another, and become more complete and submersive.

It was the spirit, which was known to be diffused throughout the staff of the two great armies stationed in the south, that gave rise to these apprehensions; in spite of the measures taken, and notwithstanding generals of well-tried loyalty and beloved by the soldiers had been despatched to those parts, the underhand manœuvres of so many young and active men might bring about a second catastrophe, in a country formerly the seat of the warlike republic of the Cossacks, long united to Poland, and speaking a language that forms a medium between the idiom of that old Sclavonic kingdom and the language of the great empire, the result of a fusion of the Sclavonic and the Finnish elements.* The mine was charged; it might suddenly explode, and, without producing any durable effect, nevertheless cover whole countries with blood and devastation.

Indeed, the real strength of the conspiracy was in the south; there were its men of action; there it formed as it were a vast net, the meshes of which, only a few weeks before, had been held by able and powerful hands. They had not wasted their time in making theories, but everything had been prepared for a general rising with arms in their hands; at the first signal, more than ten commanders of regiments would have been ready to march. The somewhat tardy vigilance of the government had, it is true, dissolved this

* This language of Russia Minor is sometimes called *Ruthenic* to distinguish it from the Russian language properly so called. The *Roussniac* of White Russia (the chief town of which is Smolensk) is a simple modification of it.

formidable organization; but despair gave added strength to its scattered remnants.

Before exhibiting the picture of this second scene of revolt, which succeeded the former within the space of a few days, it will be expedient to take a hasty view of the two armies in question.

At the time of which we are speaking, Russia was at peace with all her neighbours, but the state of the world or her own pretensions had not allowed her to disarm. Including the irregular corps, her military forces amounted, at least nominally, to more than 800,000 men, of whom from 30 to 40,000 composed the imperial guard, and a nearly equal number the corps of grenadiers, another choice body of troops almost as much esteemed as the former. If it had been necessary to begin a campaign there would have been about 400,000 fighting men. The guard and the grenadiers formed the reserve and had their head-quarters at St. Petersburg and Novogorod. The army, properly so called, was being mustered in different points, either to keep a watch on Europe, ever agitated by the ideas of progress and emancipation; or for the purpose of menacing Turkey, with which it had not been possible to come to any satisfactory arrangement since the rupture in 1821; or for that of repelling the mountaineers of the Caucasus, who, though reduced to order in 1823, were again taking up arms; or, lastly, to guard Finland or other points of the frontier and the wildernesses of Siberia. The task of keeping a watch on Europe had devolved on the

Lithuanian corps, and on its vanguard the army of Poland, which, in 1822, had been placed under the command of the Grand-Duke Constantine. The two might form a total of about 80,000 men. The other task, that of keeping Turkey in awe, was allotted to two divisions of the army, known till August, 1833, by the denomination of first and second army, or army of the west and army of the south.

The army of the south, containing about 120,000 men, was under the command of the conqueror of Polotsk, the defender of St. Petersburg, Count (since Prince) de Wittgenstein, sprung, as is well known, from a German and formerly royal family.* Being nearer the frontier than the other, it extended its cantonments from the Pruth, at the extremity of Bessarabia, almost as far as Tcherkassy on the Dnieper, and had its head-quarters at Toultchina, a town or large borough in the district of Bratzlaf in Polodia, especially remarkable as containing one of the principal residences of the illustrious Polish family Potocki, whose mansion was a very noble structure. Everybody has heard of the magnificent gardens of Sofiofka, laid out in honour of a woman who was as remarkable for her intellectual qualities as for her dazzling beauty. This was the celebrated Countess Sophia. A young Greek slave, purchased by a French diplomatist at the bazaar of Constantinople, became, by the caprice of fortune, the wife of General Count de Witt (the grand-

* We shall devote a short notice to him. See Note (3) in the Notes and Explanations of the present volume.

son of the grand pensionary of Holland) and the mother of another general of that name of whom we have already spoken. During her husband's lifetime, she espoused Count Felix Potocki, one of the most wealthy proprietors in the empire, the owner of 165,000 male slaves, and unhappily notorious in the annals of his country.* Felix had purchased her at the price of several millions, and it was his gallantry towards her that called Sofiofka into existence. The countess lived there in an intoxication of pleasures; her opulence was unrivalled, and till her death, which happened in 1823, she was surrounded with a halo of adoration offered to her by the whole of the higher classes.

But, to return to the second army. Its commander, a warrior well tried in the battle-field—a man of honour, kind, humane, and affable, enjoyed the highest esteem of its soldiery. The chief of its staff was M. Paul Kisseleff (now count, commander-in-chief, and minister), who, the husband of a daughter of the Countess Sophia Potocki, and bearing the same name as herself, was, when at Toultchina, as much at home as though he had been on his own estates.†

* We shall speak of this Polish magnate in the notice we shall devote to his family: Note (4,) in the Notes and Explanations. Since his time Polish patriotism has again awakened in the heart of the family of Potocki; and the almost royal domain of Sofiofka, confiscated and united to the lands of the crown of Russia, now bears the name of *Tsaritsyne-Sad*, (Garden of the Czar).

† In 1845, the Countess Kisseleff, who always considers herself a Pole, though the blood of her mother is strong in her veins, was suddenly exiled from St. Petersburg, by virtue of an imperial order signed at Palermo. At the present day, Russia and Turkey are the only countries

The first army was much more numerous, and had also more extensive cantonments; for from Ostroy in Volhynia it extended throughout Russia Minor, and even over a part of Central Russia. Its number was estimated at 150,000 men, and its head-quarters were at Kief, the metropolis of Russia Minor, and one of the ancient national capitals. The command of this vast body was also intrusted to a German, but one from the Baltic provinces of the empire, and, consequently, among those who ought to be reckoned as belonging to the nation. This was General Count de Sacken,* a worthy, brave, skilful, and devoted veteran, but whose faculties were beginning to be enfeebled by age. Formed in the school of Suwarrow and Benningsen,† he had taken a distinguished part in most of the wars of the empire, and had covered himself with glory at the battle of Leipsic. In 1814, he was governor of Paris, and had acquired the secret of making himself esteemed in that delicate function.

Counts Wittgenstein and Sacken had not at that period the rank of field-marshal, to which they were promoted together in 1826;‡ they were simply generals-in-chief, although the two, with Jermolof,

in Europe where such acts of arbitrariness are possible; but, to be just, we must add that in France, the glorious old times of *lettres de cachet* and the mysteries of the Bastile are not of very remote antiquity.

* The right form of his name is Von der Osten Sacken. He has since been created a prince.

† Benningsen died in the kingdom of Hanover, his native land, on the 4th of October, 1826.

‡ They have received since that time the title of prince. Wittgenstein died in 1843, and Sacken in 1837.

were the most illustrious commanders in all the Russian army. Notwithstanding the deaths of the last commanders-in-chief, of Koutosoff (in 1813), the hero of Borodino and the rather too much flattered idol of the Russian people; of the old prince, Nicholas Saltikoff (in 1816), more distinguished for his high birth than his military talents;* of the modest and skilful Barclay de Tolly (in 1818), whose patriotism was shamefully requited;† of Count Goudoritch (in 1820), an old man of ninety, who had reposed long upon his laurels, gathered in numerous campaigns against the Turks, the Persians, and the tribes of the Caucasus; notwithstanding, I say, these losses, no marshal's staff had been awarded since the peace; and a solemn occasion was only wanting to present itself that it might be conferred, as the reward of an honourable career, on these two eminent warriors.

To complete the account of the Russian forces at the time of the death of Alexander, let us add, by way of memorandum, that the detached corps of the Caucasus, commanded by Jermoloff, then figured on the army list with a total of 40,000 men; that of Finland reckoned 10,000; that of Orenburg, charged to observe and check the hordes of the desert,‡ 12,000; and that of

* See, for what relates to him and his family, the Notes and Explanations of the present volume, note (5.)

† During the reign of Nicholas, a statue has been erected to him, as also to Koutosoff, in the square of the cathedral of N. D. de Kasan, the perspective from Nevski. General Prince Bagrathion received a monument worthy of him on the battle-field of Borodino, in 1839.

‡ Kirghises-Kaïssaks and others.

Siberia, nearly the same number. There still remained what was termed the army of the interior, composed in a great measure of invalids, and amounting to about 75,000 men, besides the military colonies, then, as now, divided into two principal sections. The first of these sections, that of the infantry, could furnish 25,000 fighting men; its head-quarters were at Novogorod the Great, and it had for its commander the all-powerful Count Araktchéief. The second section, that of the cavalry, occupied Russia Minor and New Russia; it had its head-quarters at Jekaterinoslaff,* and was placed under the command of General Count de Witt, who, at the famous camp of Voznecensk (in 1837), tried to imitate Potemkin by creating, as with a magic wand, an ephemeral city.

Such was the complement of the military forces in Russia in 1825. As to its direction, we said a few words about it in the preceding volume, when we spoke of Generals Tatischtcheff and Diebitsch.

But we had to tell only of the first and second army: we beg the reader to pardon us this digression.

In each of these great bodies existed the nucleus of a military conspiracy; almost every corps was infected with it, and the idea had already been conceived of disaffecting the third corps of the second army, which was composed of two divisions of infantry, of one division of hussars, and of the artillery belonging to those divisions. Not only the majority of the officers

* A town, the name of which means "Glory of Catherine."

had been gained over, but an attempt had even been made to win the subalterns and soldiers, by insinuating that the time had come to rid themselves of the tyranny of their German chiefs, as the regiment of the guards of Semenoff had formerly done. The common sense of the multitude withstood these suggestions. "But, does the Emperor know anything about it?" was either the simple reply of the soldiers, or else the poor ignorant men would declare they were ready to do whatever was required of them, "provided it caused no rebellion, nor any other mischief."* Though placed in the centre of the revolutionary cabals, at Kief, General Sacken paid scarcely more attention to them than Count de Wittgenstein, whose staff abounded with conspirators,† although neither himself nor General Paul Kisseleff, the head of this staff, appeared to to have the slightest suspicion of it.‡ The latter, indeed, had perceived that the officers maintained a

* "Report of the Commission of Inquiry," p. 77.

† Pestel no longer formed a part of Wittgenstein's staff; but Lieutenant-Colonel Fallenberg, Captains Prince Bariatinski and Ivacheff, and Lieutenants Krukoff and Bassarghine belonged to it, not to mention Wolf, the surgeon-major, Touschnefski, the military intendant-general, and others. To Count de Sacken's staff belonged, among others, Captain Count Moussine-Pouschkine and Lieutenant Titoff. When Captain Kornilovitch maintained that 100,000 men were ready in the second army ("Report," p. 103), his boast was not devoid of at least an appearance of foundation.

‡ If it be true, as has been asserted, that General Kisseleff was not entirely free from suspicion, his innocence was soon acknowledged, and the country was not to be deprived of the services of one of the most intelligent and rising men that ever sprang from the ranks of the Russian army. We know what authority M. Kisseleff enjoyed as president of the divans of Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1830, and the following years, and we have already spoken of the admirable impulse

constant correspondence with St. Petersburg, and Wittgenstein had given notice of it to the Emperor Alexander, who, according to his custom, took no pains to derive any advantage from this information.

The soul of the conspiracy—the most dangerous of the tribunes—was in the second army.

This was Paul Pestel, a young man about thirty years of age, and small in stature, but who seemed to multiply himself by his activity, and whose sparkling eyes proclaimed the intensity of his passions. Crafty, cunning, and intriguing, he was full of resources, and ambitious in proportion. In designating him the Riego of Russia, people, perhaps, have not quite done justice to his capacity; we would rather compare him to Catiline, if deeds acted and done, and a well attested depravity of morals gave us a right to brand his memory with so much infamy.

Though his name is of German origin, Pestel was by birth a Russian. His father, who, in 1825, lived in a condition bordering on indigence, succeeded Speranski, in the office of governor-general of Siberia. He was a clever man of business, but harsh and despotic, as are all the German *parvenus* in Russia, and accused of not having always been inaccessible to bribery. This accusation, true or false, occasioned the loss of his place,—a satrapy of unlimited authority in a remote wilderness. In a severe

he gave to the ministry of the domains of the crown, created for him in 1838. He has been rewarded with the title of count, and with many other distinctions and advantages.

ukase, dated February, 1822, he was reprimanded by the emperor, whose justice was inflicted at the same time on two civil governors, and six hundred and seventy-eight public functionaries, who were all dismissed for extortion, usury, and malversation of every kind. Shortly after, this satrapy was dismembered, and Siberia was divided into two general governments, under the names of Eastern and Western Siberia, such as they now exist.

Paul Pestel, one of the sons of this old governor-general,* had been brought up at Dresden, from whence he was removed to St. Petersburg, leaving the corps of pages, of whom he was one, with the grade of ensign; he had afterwards earned the epaulets of a captain in the campaign of France. The following proof of firmness, displayed at Bar-sur-Aube, is related in his favour. Seeing some Bavarian soldiers brutally ill-treating the peaceable inhabitants, he took the part of the latter, arrested the soldiers, and brought them to their senses by caning them soundly in the Russian, or, if you please, in the German fashion. He was aide-de-camp to General Wittgenstein when he returned to his native country, and, as such, was ever about the person of this distinguished general. Some time before the revolt, his promotion had caused him to quit this service: being made a colonel, he was charged with the command of the regiment of infantry at Viatka.

* The eldest was in 1825 a colonel like himself; another, an officer in the guard. We have mentioned Pestel's brother-in-law, General Arnoldi, in our first volume.

However, Pestel's ambition looked far higher than this secondary position. Many of his accomplices have borne witness to this, and especially Ryleïeff, whose opinion of him is said to have been expressed as follows: "He is an ambitious, designing man; a Buonaparte, not a Washington." He was an avowed republican, but perhaps only because an imperial crown was not suited to the compass of his capacity. Ryleïeff and Alexander Bestoujeff endured him without feeling the least sympathy in his favour. However, he was one of the best heads in the whole association, of which he had been one of the first authors. He it was who had drawn up the plan of the constitution it had adopted. The "Official Report" taxes him with ignorance; but the proofs it furnishes in support of this charge appear to us by no means conclusive.*

We shall trace further on, through the mysteries of the secret societies, the consuming activity of the enterprising and pervading mind of this man, who, had he been present at St. Petersburg on the day of the revolt, would doubtless have effected a very different result than did the pusillanimous prince Troubetzkoï

* P. 42. First proof: he gave the name of *province of Kholmogory* to the union of the governments of Novogorod, Tver, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. But, was the compiler ignorant that *Holmgard* (City of the Isle) was in fact one of the most ancient names of Novogorod? Second proof: he calls *province of Severia* the union of the governments of Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Iaroslavl, Kostroma, and Perm. But, we may reply, this did not allude to the Severians, but only to *Sever*, the north; in fact, he meant to designate it a region of the north. Is this what should be received to attest an ignorance which "is even ridiculous, and often carried to an unaccountable degree?" For our part, we see no sufficient foundation for such censure.

or the pacific Ryleïeff. For the present, let us merely state that Pestel was, in the south, the pivot on which, moving in the dark, turned a vast conspiracy, wherein several hundreds of officers, perhaps nearly a thousand of every rank, were engaged. There was no hesitation in the man! Full of courage, and his mind fixed on his aim, he marched imperturbably towards the goal, surmounting obstacles, or turning them, whatever resistance they offered to his progress. He made many proselytes (says the "Official Report," p. 32 and 61), and his colleagues about him seldom could withstand his influence. He was not only the director of the society of the south, but he exercised in it a despotic power. The great majority of the members placed an unbounded confidence in him.*

* Pestel's person and eloquence must have been endowed with extraordinary fascination. Major-General Prince Sergius Volkonski, otherwise a very harmless man, declared he was ready to sacrifice everything to establish the form of government proposed by Pestel ("Report" p. 61); and Lieutenant-Colonel Poggio, after meeting and hearing him, exclaimed in a rather puerile fit of enthusiasm, "We must confess that none of those who have lived before our time understood anything of the science of government. They were disciples, and the science was in its cradle." When Pestel asked him afterwards whom they should place at the head of the provisional government: "Whom?" replied Poggio, "whom but the man who undertakes and, doubtless, will accomplish the grand work of the revolution; whom but yourself?" Pestel objected, that with a name that was not Russian this would be difficult, but without convincing his interlocutor. "What matters," replied he, if we may believe the same "Report," "you will even silence calumny, by quitting power and returning, like Washington, to the rank of a private citizen. Moreover, the provisional government will not last long,—a year or two at most."—"Oh, no!" replied Pestel, "not less than ten; ten years are necessary, if it be only for preparatory measures. Meanwhile, to prevent people murmuring, we will occupy them with a foreign war,—the re-

The regiments were accustomed to be on duty alternately at Toultchina, the head-quarters of the second army. The regiment of Viatka, in which the seeds of discontent had been abundantly sown, was to have entered on the 1st of January, 1826. Pestel, its colonel, had appointed that day to strike the decisive blow. The commander-in-chief was to be immediately arrested: no harm was to be done to him, for Count de Wittgenstein was very popular, but all the generals and colonels not of the conspiracy were to be put to the sword. Next, the conspirators were to march on Kief, to secure the commander of the first army, with which they intended to fraternize, aided by the accomplices they had contrived to obtain there. Then, when other troops arrived to oppose the rebellion, they were to oppose them; to proclaim the downfall of the Emperor, whilst Poland would take up arms, and perhaps Courland, Livonia, and other provinces would likewise revolt.

Such was the plan. But would it have succeeded? This is more than doubtful; for illusions formed the basis of an immense portion of the calculations in which they indulged. There was nothing, for instance, to authorize the hopes they founded on the Baltic provinces, where, indeed, little sympathy for Russia is perceptible, but there is certainly no resistance organized

establishment of the ancient republics of Greece. For my part, when I have finished my great task, I shall retire to the monastery of Kief, where I shall live like an anchorite, and then religion will have its turn." (*Ib.* p. 62, 63.) See also the note in page 64 of the "Report," for his conversation with Ryleïeff.

against her; and, at that time, the religious propagandism practised among the Lettonian or Esthonian peasants by the Russian church, had not excited alarm among the nobles, nor sown dissension between them and their husbandmen,—their newly enfranchised serfs. Other conjectures of the conspirators were no less chimerical than these. But, even though their plan had presented better chances of success, it would infallibly have failed on Pestel's arrest. This would have paralysed at once the whole of the enterprise; from that moment, the insurrection could be nothing more than a tumultuous riot.

That event happened in the following manner. In the beginning of November, Pestel was betrayed by one of the officers of his regiment, who was implicated in the conspiracy, but now felt some remorse. Captain Maïboroda presented himself before Lieutenant-general Roth, the commander of the 3rd body of infantry in the second army, entreating him to despatch him as a courier to Taganrog, as he had news of the utmost importance to communicate to the emperor. General Roth was a brave soldier, a native of Alsace, who had emigrated with his father, a colonel in the royal corps of artillery, and had entered the Russian service in 1801. Distrusting Maïboroda, he answered that his request was impossible, and that, if he really possessed a secret concerning the state, he had only to reveal it to him, his general. The officer would have declined, but his refusal was not attended to; he was informed that he must not stir from the spot before

he had spoken out. At length, Maïboroda decided on breaking silence. The extensive revelations he made determined General Roth to send forthwith a captain to bear these ominous tidings to Taganrog; and, in order to foil the projects of the conspirators in the mean time, he dispersed the regiments of his corps in such a manner, that those who were the most obnoxious to suspicion, were furthest apart, if not entirely separated.

When his courier arrived on the shores of the sea of Azof, Alexander had just expired. Having received an intimation from General Count de Witt, the commander of the military colonies of Southern Russia, who had hastened to Taganrog a few days before, General Diebitsch, after having concerted with Prince Volkonski, took, as we have already stated, the necessary urgent measures on his own responsibility. He entrusted his orders to his Aide-de-camp General Tchernycheff, at that time much esteemed as a man to be trusted, and who, since then especially, has contrived to make himself almost indispensable. This general, celebrated for the mission of observation he had so skilfully fulfilled at Paris in 1812, arrested in the second army, in concert with Count de Wittgenstein, more than twelve commanders of regiments, and especially Colonel Pestel, the most compromised of all;* and in the first army, six commanders of regiments, not to mention a vast number of inferior officers.

*. It was on the 26th of December that they secured them. "Report of the Commission of Inquiry," p. 130, note.

At the same time, papers were seized, and preliminary interrogatories effected.

However, they do not appear to have acted with the necessary severity and promptitude; for one of the principal conspirators, Major-General Prince Sergius Volkonski, brother-in-law of Alexander's travelling companion, contrived to obtain an interview with Pestel even after his arrest.* He exhibited extreme alarm; but Pestel comforted him: "Fear not," said he; "provided my Russian Code be not in their hands, we shall perhaps escape this danger; I am not a man to make any revelation." Orders, received from St. Petersburg, soon prescribed extreme severity. The other arrests were effected, and the zeal of the devoted generals now knew no bounds.†

* We have, in a note, already mentioned this conspirator, a member of a powerful family, and a son of a lady of honour to the empress. We shall have occasion to revert to him again.

† The brothers Skariatine and other young men were arrested without any plausible pretext, and set at liberty as soon as they reached St. Petersburg. Neither did they prosecute the arrest of Major-General Prince Paul Lapoukhine, the son of the president of the council of the empire. There was a report in the capital that the two sons of the brave Raiefski, a retired general of the cavalry, and nephew of Prince Potemkin, had likewise been arrested. However, the "Official Report" (in the note p. 112) mentions the Raiefskis only to absolve them from all suspicion; and the old general was made, in February, 1826, member of the council of the empire. But, the same "Report" quotes a deposition according to which General Michael Orloff had been under the influence of that family. In Erman's "Voyage round the Globe," vol. i. p. 81, he mentions another Raiefski, a colonel of artillery, and director of a military school, whom the traveller actually met in Siberia. The place of his exile was in the environs of Irkoutsk. Mr. Erman speaks (vol. i. p. 623) also of a General Count Gorski as having figured in the conspiracy. We shall allude to him further; but he is scarcely mentioned in the official documents.

Owing to the promptitude with which these latter measures were adopted, no disturbance took place in the army of Count de Wittgenstein; but they did not succeed so well in preventing a resort to arms in the first army, that which was commanded by Count de Sacken, not at Kief, the head-quarters, but at a few leagues more to the south-west, in the environs of the city of Vassilkoff.

It was not reasonable to expect the least result from this step, since all the principal actors of the conspiracy, those on whom the committees had most relied, were in prison. It was an act of despair undertaken for the personal defence of one individual. Happily, it did not occasion much bloodshed, and excepting the soldiers—poor victims led astray, who could not be made responsible for a transgression committed through ignorance—it compromised nobody but such as were so already by the seizure of papers, and the voluminous depositions of the Inquiry.

In the first army the conspiracy had a chief who was hardly inferior to Pestel, except in ambition and vicious inclinations. This was Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol, a lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of infantry of Tchernigoff. Sergius was a distinguished officer, noble-hearted, resolute, and impassioned, who had long been engaged in the conspiracy. His double name called to mind his twofold extraction, from the numerous family of the Mouravieffs and from that of Apostol, the hetman of the Cossacks. His father, Ivan Mouravieff-

Apostol, was a senator and had discharged (during the empire of Napoleon,) the functions of Russian ambassador, first at the Hanseatic towns and afterwards in Spain. He is still living ; but alas ! far from his native land, whither he will never be permitted to return, to honour the memory of his sons who fell by the sword of the law. Those sons, esteemed and beloved by everybody, were the joy and pride of his heart, and never had he had to complain of them. Himself a man of good sense and honour, inclined to be one of the opposition, but more of an aristocrat than a liberal, he had many friends. Being the nephew of the tutor of Alexander, he had been, in a manner of speaking, brought up with that prince, and he was not a man to excite any animosity against his government. Moreover, he was too fond of the enjoyments of material life ever to have thought of nourishing ideas of independence and rebellion in the minds of his sons. His translation into Russian of the "Clouds" of Aristophanes attests the profundity of his classic studies, and his love for antiquity is again seen in another of his works, likewise written in the national language, the "Voyage to Tauris," (Petersb., 1823, 8vo.) Few Russians have proved themselves such good philologists: they have hitherto abandoned to the Germans settled among them the study of philology.

M. Mouravieff-Apostol, on quitting France to repair to Madrid, had left at Paris under the guardianship of their mother, his elder sons, to whom he wished to

secure the benefit of an equally solid and brilliant education. Sergius, the eldest, inherited his father's taste for classic literature, and learned to compose Latin verse with facility. But these young Russians lived in the French capital in an atmosphere which was likely to make the air they were later to breathe, in their native land, appear oppressive: the sphere of ideas in which they moved, even in the time of the empire, by no means accustomed them to the invariable and enforced reserve of a society in which individual volition is absorbed by the arbitrary will of the emperor. Count Ouvaroff is perfectly in the right; the Russians ought to receive a national education, on condition however that the nationality do not consist in a political idolatry, in a devotedness excluding all independence of character, and hostile to the spontaneous development of the mind. Education received in a foreign country was a source of misfortune to Sergius and Matthew Mouravieff-Apostol: like Alexander himself, assuredly the first liberal in his dominions, they were strangers to the state of things then paramount in their country, and were in opposition with its laws and manners; however, they were so sincerely; not like many Russians and Poles who, eager to assume the appearance of civilization and treating ideas as a matter of fashion, have been, and doubtless are still, liberals at Paris, but at home arrogant to every inferior, hard-hearted to their serfs, opposed to knowledge, and the abject slaves of routine.

On their return to Russia, Sergius and Matthew,

closely united by congenial sentiments, entered the secret societies as early as 1816. Being received as officers in the regiment of Semenoff, they were cashiered when it was remodelled in 1820, doubtless for having, like so many of their comrades, favoured by their inaction the revolt of the soldiers against their colonel.* However, Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol had re-entered the service in a regiment of the army. Circumstances having caused his acquaintance with Pestel, he had become intimate with him and listened attentively to his suggestions. Sergius was an enthusiast for liberty; his studies had made him familiar with republican institutions, and his own name reminded him of the confederation of free warriors now enslaved, whose elective form of government had diffused throughout Russia Minor a spirit very different from that which prepared the populations of Muscovy or Russia Major for the yoke. His grandfather, Daniel Apostol, before being freely elected hetman of the Cossacks in 1729, had energetically defended the rights of his country against the encroachments of Peter the Great: accordingly he had expiated his audacity by a long captivity. The unanimous acclamations of the Cossack people had been his recompense, and he had

* Colonel Schwartz, a native of Courland, carried his severity even to tyranny. He was detested both by the officers and the soldiers. The mutiny took place on the 28th of September, 1820. See Lesur's "Annuaire pour 1820," p. 306; some details are also to be found in Dupré de Saint-Maure's "Pétersbourg, Moscou et les Provinces," t. ii. p. 171. Sergius Mouravieff was adored by the soldiers: at the time of their insurrection he could have done anything with them.

received the *boulava* of command at Gloukhoff in that same government of Tchernigoff whose name was still borne by Sergius's regiment. Such reminiscences are never lost on an ardent youth full of imagination; but in Russia such reminiscences were not without danger. For some time Sergius had been tampering with the soldiers of the regiment: on the one hand he strove to excite in them a distrust of their commanders, in order to dispose them for rebellion, and on the other he did all he could to conciliate their attachment more and more. His influence even reached several other regiments of the ninth division, in which he singled out such soldiers as had like himself served under Semenoff. He secretly increased the number of his partisans. "He applied himself even," says the Report (p. 44) "to make them familiar with the idea of a general and not very distant change, exacting from them a promise to follow him on every occasion."

Matthew was less intrepid than his brother, but he loved him dearly, and had moreover too high an opinion of Sergius's merit not to espouse his designs with heart and soul. Nevertheless, towards the end of 1824, he proposed some serious objections. "What can we offer," said he in his letter from St. Petersburg, "in lieu of rank, money, and tranquillity? Political abstractions and ensigns of twenty to govern the empire." Indeed, their resources went no farther; and there was remarkably good sense in these fraternal admonitions. Nothing was ripe: though possessed perhaps of means sufficient to cause an awful overthrow,

the conspirators had nothing to set up in the place of the demolished edifice, and it required all the levity inherent in the Russian character to dream of effecting a revolution in such a state of things.

A more thorough-going partisan of Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol was Michael Bestoujeff-Rumine, an obscure member of the family of the celebrated chancellor of that name, who directed the exterior policy of Russia during the reign of the empress Elizabeth.

Though scarcely thirty years old he was sub-lieutenant in the infantry regiment of Pultava, whose colonel, Tiesenhausen,* was a confederate with the conspirators; this regiment formed likewise a part of the first army and was only a few leagues distant from Mouravieff. These two young men had long been acquainted. Now, Bestoujeff-Rumine was one of Pestel's principal allies, one of the most useful agents of the committee of the south, initiated into all its secrets, implicated in every intrigue in which its members were engaged, an ardent promoter of their views, and ever ready to be their instrument in accomplishing them.

When Pestel was arrested, on the 26th of December, fresh orders from St. Petersburg prescribed also the arrest of Mouravieff-Apostol and his brother, a retired lieutenant-colonel, who happened then to be with him. Bestoujeff-Rumine knew it, and immediately gave notice to Sergius. Though brave,

* Of a much respected Livonian family, the same as that of the Countess De Choiseul-Gouffier, the authoress of the "Mémoires Historiques sur Alexandre."

the latter did not think it prudent to slight this warning: he was the more inclined to conceal himself, in concert with his brother, as he had already heard of the fatal result of the 26th of December at St. Petersburg, and as an interview with Count Peter Moszynski, a Pole still young, a marshal of the nobility in the government of Volhynia, and a member of the Patriotic Society of Warsaw, had little answered his expectations of finding, in case of need, in that quarter, the resources which failed him in his own country. Volhynia, ever animated with a Polish spirit, bore with indignation the yoke of Russia; but the Society, whom Sergius was endeavouring to excite to take up arms, was working, as we shall presently see, on its own account, calmly and deliberately, and was seriously prosecuting nothing less than a design of preparing, in Poland, a revolution strictly national. When, therefore, after the events at St. Petersburg, on the 26th of December, Mouravieff went to visit the count at Berditcheff, and wished to know from him whether, in case of an insurrection of the 3rd and 4th corps, they might rely on the assistance of the Poles, Moszynski replied that he had no instructions on that head; he would not even take charge of a letter from Mouravieff to Prince Antony Tablonowski, with whom the Russians had opened a communication, under the pretext that a law of the Society prohibited every kind of transaction in writing.*

* Polish "Report" in the "Journal de Saint Pétersbourg," 1827. No. 73, p. 311.

As there was therefore no hope of any assistance for him from the Poles; the safest plan, therefore, was to elude pursuit as quickly as possible. But the two brothers did not succeed. Lieutenant-Colonel Ghebel, who commanded the regiment of Tchernigoff, was charged to effect their arrest; and although they had concealed themselves, this order was executed on the 10th of January, 1826.

This was a painful duty for Colonel Ghebel; for he was on terms of friendship with Sergius Mouravieff, who, it is said, was under great obligations to him. Accordingly, though faithfully executing his orders, he treated his prisoners with kindness and regard. Being the more confiding, as he saw them resigned to their fate and ready to follow the courier (*feldjæger*) who was to conduct them to St. Petersburg, with a feeble escort of a few *gendarmes*, he did not observe all those precautions towards them which are prescribed in such cases. On the evening of his arrest, at Trilessié, Sergius received a visit from his friend; they conversed familiarly, and agreed to take tea once more together before this probably very long separation. Ghebel listened only to the dictates of his friendship for Mouravieff. But, since the morning, the latter had found means to give notice of what was taking place to several members of the Society of the *Slaves réunis*, young officers of the same regiment of Tchernigoff; and Lieutenants Kouzmine, Soukhinoff, Chtchipilla, and the second captain, Baron Solovieff, rushed into the apartment and surrounded the two captives.

At the same instant, Sergius called out to the colonel that the tables were now turned, and that instead of being his prisoner, he detained him in arrest—even him, the commander of the regiment. "No, by my life!" was the reply of the brave officer, who instantly drew his sword, retreating into a corner of the room, and shouting for help. In the struggle that ensued, Ghebel is said to have received fourteen wounds: he fell senseless on the floor. Mouravieff was the first who wounded him; and Solovieff, snatching a gun from the hands of the sentinel, afterwards struck him several times. They arrested the courier and the *gendarmes*, and issued forth shouting, *Hourra, Constantine!* Sergius hastened to declare to the soldiers who crowded around that he took the command of the regiment, and meant to remain faithful to the lawful emperor, to whom they had all pledged their faith. He spoke of Constantine. The same means by which the poor soldiers of the guard at St. Petersburg had been led astray, were employed here, and with a success that Mouravieff's words alone would never have obtained, in spite of the emphasis with which they were shouted: "Soldiers! serve God and religion for liberty!"

But circumstances at this moment were anything but favourable. The companies of the regiment of Tcheringoff, which was itself at a considerable distance from the others, were scattered over a vast extent of country, owing to the prudent measures of General Roth. Sergius Mouravieff despatched his friends, each to his company, to induce them to join the rebellion,

and then to conduct them to him at Vassilkoff, whither, preceded by Solovieff at the head of a regiment, he repaired on the 11th, after having added to his band the 2nd company of grenadiers at Kovalevka. Bestoujeff-Rumine, whom he had sent to reconnoitre at Broussiloff, a small town half way between Kief and Jitomir (in Volhynia), joined him on his march. Mouravieff also gained over Kousmine's company.

But at eight versts* from Vassilkoff, he heard that the town was occupied by a battalion of his regiment, under the command of Major Troukhine, who was ill-disposed towards them. This officer, having ordered Solovieff to be arrested, sallied forth, and soon came up with the van-guard of the rebels. Soukhinoff, who commanded it, immediately ordered his troop to make ready and fire. Troukhine gave the same order to his men, but was not obeyed ; they were staggered and infected by the example of their comrades. Taking advantage of their hesitation, the latter surrounded them : the soldiers made no efforts to defend their commander ; he was accordingly made prisoner, deprived of his sword and epaulets, and dragged to Vassilkoff, into which the rebel companies entered without opposition, and confined their prisoner in the chief fortress. But the major found means to escape, followed by Lieutenant Pavloff, the adjutant of the regiment, who carried off with him the papers and the seal. In the colonel-commandant's quarters the rebels seized on

* Or about two-thirds of an English mile.

the flags, the military chest, and a waggon full of gunpowder, and reinforced themselves with the three companies that had remained in the town. They then ran to deliver Solovieff, as well as all the officers whom Ghebel had ordered into arrest; and they even opened the doors of the city prison and let out a few malefactors who were detained there. Mouravieff's little band thus increased; it was moreover joined by several officers who arrived from the neighbouring districts, especially by Alexander Vadkofski, sub-lieutenant in the horse-chasseurs of Négine, and a member of the Association. Mouravieff, who had summoned him from Belaïa-Tserkof,* a large town to the south of Vassilkoff, sent him back there to attempt to excite the squadrons of his regiment to insurrection.† He despatched others of his party to Kief, the seat of the Society, in the hope of speedily obtaining succour. From the necessity of providing for the wants of his troops, and perhaps also for the purpose of compromising it for ever, he broke into the shops of the town. Another scene took place in the public square of Vassilkoff, well worth recording as a fresh proof of the vile degradation of the lower clergy in Russia, notorious for their cupidity, drunkenness, and servile

* A name meaning White Church. In the Polish, it is called Biala Cerkiew.

† He must not be confounded with Theodore Vadkofski, whom Sherwood, as early as the month of June, had mentioned in his revelations ("Report," p. 5), and who nevertheless remained at Koursk, whence he wrote to Pestel, on the death of Alexander, a letter which may be seen in page 78 of the "Report." How was it that this known conspirator, this member of the class of *boïars*, was not molested?

spirit.* We will borrow the account from the "Official Report" (p. 134).

Before Mouravieff and his party marched forward again, the almoner of the regiment consented, "for a sum of two hundred rubles," to celebrate Divine service, as well as to read to the troop a catechism composed long before by Sergius and Bestoujeff-Rumine, in which, interpreting in their own fashion some detached passages of the Old Testament, they had endeavoured to prove that democracy was the only form of government agreeable to God. The officers hailed these passages with shouts of *Liberty for ever!* But in the hearts of the soldiers, that shout, which in other countries has been found so potential, found no echo: there was no chord there that would vibrate. This was plain from the embarrassed attitude of the men. To whom does the empire belong, to Constantine or to Nicholas Paulovitch? Such was, in their opinion, the only question; as to liberty, they scarcely knew its name: the church had never spoken to them of it, neither was there any mention of it in the military regulations. In Russia, autocracy is like a pillar of fire going before the people: they follow it with implicit confidence, and quake with dread when it sinks in the horizon. Soberly speaking, what surer guide could they choose than autocracy, of course sup-

* In relation to the last point: we have seen some who, to obtain the least favour, would bow before the nobles and the rich in quite an oriental style, touching the ground with the forefinger of their right hand. As to the drunkenness of the Russian priests, refer for proofs of it in the Notes and Explanations of this volume: Note (6.)

posing it to be conscientious, and founded upon known and acknowledged laws? Liberty? Doubtless the Sclavonians practised it, for Novogorod the Great is said to have been a republic. But those are bygone times, and, since then, everything has been transformed. If there formerly existed, in the ancient metropolis of Russian commerce, a flourishing citizen class, it had been decimated by the tyrants, and afterwards scattered, and in a great measure transferred, to the new city of St. Petersburg, in obedience to the absolute will of the czar-reformer. Compared with the present population of the empire, the third estate is merely an imperceptible minority; it exists only in the shell. Now, without a third estate, liberty, which is good only when it operates for the advantage of all, is the monopoly of a single class, and we have Poland to tell us whether, in such a case, it can guide a nation. Autocracy lays a levelling hand upon all without distinction; and if it does not urge towards progress—we mean intellectual and moral progress—it is at least interested in preventing the mass of the population from being oppressed by a few privileged individuals. The common sense of the Russian people, generally so remarkable, told them as much; and they had, moreover, a faith to which they held fast, without inquiring on what biblical passages it was based.

The new doctrines did not for a moment stagger the confirmed faith of the soldiers; nay, according to Mouravieff's own avowal, it produced upon those simple men an impression unfavourable to his views: accordingly,

Sergius was obliged to invoke once more the name of Cesarovitch, and to assure the rebels that the alleged renunciation of the prince was a positive falsehood.

Throughout this affair, Bestoujeff-Rumine was a valuable ally of Mouravieff: restless, and endowed with persuasive eloquence, he exercised great influence over the soldiers, so much so, that he prevailed upon them to espouse their cause with an oath, ratified by kissing a holy image. He strove also to raise the moral courage of Matthew Mouravieff, the commander's brother, who, as he afterwards said, foresaw the result of their guilty enterprise. Matthew was deterred from the first by a knowledge of the consequences which it would entail on them; but, as his brother persisted, he was resolved to share his fate, whatever it might be. But he added his most earnest prayers to Sergius's entreaties, to induce their other brother, Hippolyte, to abandon them. We have seen the latter escaping from St. Petersburg on the evening before the 26th of December, at the very moment when the order was given that none should pass, and that all communication should be cut off. He cheated the vigilance of the guards; unexpectedly rejoined his brothers at Vassilkoff, and remained with them, resolved to share their good or bad fortune. These unfortunate young men were bound to one another by the tenderest ties of friendship.

Sergius, ever intrepid, but still uncertain in what direction he should march, gave the signal of departure on the 12th, at noon. It was doubtless the hope of rallying the other companies of his regiment that

induced him to take the road to Broussiloff, whence he could have gained, according as circumstances required, Kief or Jitomir (Volhynia), in one day's march. Accordingly, he met on his road the first company of grenadiers, and the first of fusileers, in the village of Motovilofka. Both seemed disposed to follow him, thinking they should thereby remain faithful to the oath taken to the Emperor Constantine. The company of fusileers did so without much hesitation: but an imprudent speech alarmed the grenadiers, to whom, according to his custom, Mouravieff could not help speaking of democracy and a republic. "In fact, comrades," said he flippantly, "what need have we of Constantine? We can do without him as well as without the other. It is a republic we want. Come, let us all shout '*A Republic for ever!*'" The word liberty conveyed at least its own meaning; but that of republic was totally devoid of signification to these men, excellent in resisting, like a wall, the shock of war, and in standing the enemy's fire without flinching, but very bad politicians, and utterly ignorant of history: the word excited an extraordinary astonishment among them. Whilst they were ransacking their brains, vacant of all those notions which are heard in the streets in the more advanced countries of Europe, trying to get at the meaning of that singular word, an old grenadier of the company, leaning on the barrel of his gun, ventured to come to an explanation with his colonel. "We will shout *A Republic for ever!* if it so please your grace,"*

* *Vaché blagorodié.* These titles of honour are not less familiar to the

said he, "but who, after all, is to be czar?" "There is none in a republic." "Oh! in that case, your grace, it will not do in Russia!" The whole company was of the same opinion: no matter about the republic, thought they, but at all events we must have a czar!

Mouravieff then perceived the blunder he had committed; but it was too late; Captain Kozloff, concealed in the ranks in a private's uniform, hastened to take advantage of it. He was a man of lofty stature, with a prepossessing exterior, and, like Mouravieff, beloved by the soldiers. He instantly began haranguing the company, representing to them that they were being imposed upon, and led astray to commit crimes; that Nicholas I. was the lawful czar, and that there was no reason to doubt it; that to refuse obedience to him was to be wilfully blind to their welfare; that such an order could only be given by traitors. The grenadiers listened to him attentively, and were not slow in testifying their approbation. "Lead us on, captain," cried they all with one voice, "we will obey your orders!" And taking him among them, they withstood all Mouravieff's solicitations; and to the threats of the factious, they replied that they were not afraid of death.

Russians than to the Germans; the longest do not embarrass them; but heaven knows how troublesome they are to pronounce. The reader may judge: Your highness is termed, *Vashé Vysokoprevoskhoditelstvo;* Your eminence, *Vaché Vysokopreosviaschtchenstvo.* Princes possessing an appanage, and grand dignitaries had formerly the title of *Vysokpovelitchnii,* or most powerful. A Russian vents these apostrophes as he would tell his beads.

Mouravieff had too small a party, and was not sufficiently sure of his men, to risk a fight: with despair in his heart, and foreseeing that all his endeavours would be unavailing, he allowed this chosen company to depart. Under the guidance of its captain, and congratulating themselves on having escaped the snares of hell, the latter retreated, and marched that day ten leagues that they might present themselves at the head-quarters of the division. The whole company was afterwards received into the guard, together with all its officers; so also Lieutenant-colonel Ghebel, Major Troukhine, Captain Kozloff, and Lieutenant Pavloff, were promoted a grade, as a reward for their fidelity.

The rebels, now reduced to six companies, passed the whole of the 13th of January (the 1st according to the old style) in the village of Motovilofka, "their commander," says the "Report," "not daring to impose any fatigue upon them on the festival of new year's day." Mouravieff despatched to Kief ensign Masalefski, accompanied by an under-officer and three private soldiers, after having cut off the counter-epaulets shewing the number of their division. Although their appearance was intended to commence the insurrection in the capital of Russia Minor, it appears that it had no kind of success: either from prudence and fear, or because that spirit of discontent which has ever been supposed to be diffused among the formerly so called free populations of the Ukraine, was wanting, all remained quiet. The small party returned by the same road to Vassilkoff, after flinging in the streets of Kief

three copies of the catechism of treason with which the ensign was provided. They were arrested as they were returning.

The next day, astonished at not receiving from Kief the news he expected, Mouravieff marched in the opposite direction towards Belaia-Tserkoff, where Viadkofski was to have acted in his favour and where he thought he could rely on a regiment.

He had doubtless another motive. The town of Belaia-Tserkoff or Biala-Cerkiew belongs to the Branicki family, named Branecki by the Poles, who contend that the other form of the name is an unauthorized alteration. According to them, Xavier Branecki, an obscure person bribed by Russia, had betrayed Poland, of which he was general-in-chief, first by ratifying with Adam Poninski the first partition (in 1772), and afterwards by forming, in concert with Felix Potocki and Severin Rzewuski in 1792, the confederation of Targovitza (the Poles call it the plot in favour of Russia,) which ruined the hopes of the patriots. However this may be, Xavier Branicki, married to a niece of the famous Potemkin and invested with the title of count, withdrew to his estate of Belaia-Tserkoff, where he died in 1819. He left four children, one son and three daughters;* but his widow, the Countess Alexandria Vassilievna, formerly first lady of honour to the Empress Maria Foedorovna, and afterwards grand mistress of the

* This son is the Senator Count Vladislaf Branicki, master of the hounds to the imperial court. Of the three daughters, two have espoused each a Count Potocki, and the third also a Count (since Prince) Michael Woronzow, governor-general of New Russia, &c.

court to the reigning empress, remained till her death (which took place in 1838,) in possession of his immense property, consisting, as it is said, of 130,000 serfs (male souls,) settled on the land of which we have just spoken, and on other immense domains situated in the Ukraine,* and moreover of 200,000,000 of roubles in moveable goods. Mouravieff was not ignorant that the mansion at Belaïa-Tserkoff must contain incredible treasures both in money and valuables: accordingly, as we learn from the report of General Roth,† he conceived the project of securing them in order to attach his troop to his cause by the liberal pay he could afford them, and to augment the number of his partisans by paving his way with gold.

Mouravieff marched till evening in the direction of Belaïa-Tserkoff; but bad tidings induced him once more to change his plans. On the 15th he wished to return to Trilessié, in order, says the "Report," to be nearer the society of the Sclavonians and to join them if possible. By these means he gave the staff time to take efficacious measures, and scarcely had he marched a few hours when he found the road, between the villages of Oustinovka and Korolevka blocked up by superior forces which surrounded him on every side.

Prince Chtcherbatoff,‡ general aide-de-camp, commander-in-chief, and having under his command the third and fourth corps of infantry of the first army, had

* Potemkin is said to have possessed 200,000 serfs.

† "Journal de Saint Petersbourg," 1826, No. 5.

‡ Now governor-general of Moscow.

been ordered by Count de Sacken "to repair in person to the spot with a number of troops sufficient to exterminate the band of rebels, and to restore order in the regiment of Tchernigoff, without hesitating to use such severity as circumstances might render indispensable." Moreover, at St. Petersburg, doubtless lest Count de Sacken should not act with all necessary vigour, it had been decided, "to remove even the possibility of any danger," to intrust for the present the command of the third corps of infantry to the Cesarovitch and the Grand-Duke Constantine.

This corps was under the immediate command of Lieutenant-General Roth, upon whom Prince Chtcherbatoff imposed the task of suppressing the rebellion. On the morning of the 15th, after having despatched towards Bélaïa-Tserkoff, at midnight, twelve companies of infantry with four field-pieces, in order to cut off Mouravieff's retreat, he sent off Major-Genl. Geismar * with three squadrons of Marioupol hussars and two field-pieces in pursuit of him, and marched forward himself with five squadrons and six pieces by Fastoff in order to block up every outlet.

Geismar, at the head of the detachment of the centre, overtook the rebels on the heights of Oustinovka, and summoned them to surrender. Then vanished every hope of escape; for the other detachments were likewise advancing. Mouravieff, whose intrepidity of character did not belie itself at that critical moment, saw that he must die, and so prepared to perish

* Now lieutenant-general, aide-de-camp, and baron.

like a soldier. Having formed his six companies into a square, he ordered them to march directly upon the cannons brought against them, shouldering arms and without firing a shot. Perhaps he still indulged the hope that the cannoneers would not fire, but allow themselves to be enticed into rebellion. However this be, his companies obeyed the command; but being received with a shower of grapeshot they were astounded, fell into confusion, and at once disarranged their square; Mouravieff fell wounded to the ground, but rose again and continued the fight. And now the dragoons charged; Mouravieff was wounded in the head by a sabre, and the square was broken. Unable to support himself, the gallant Sergius still endeavoured to rally his men, when, being at length undeceived, they threw down their arms, prayed for mercy, seized their chief of their own accord as he lay weltering in his blood, and delivered him up, together with Bestonjeff-Rumine, to the commander of the hussars. Hippolyte Mouravieff-Apostol was killed in the action; his brother Matthew, as well as the second Captain, Baron Solovieff, and Lieutenants Kouzmine, Chtchipilla, Bistritchy and Masalevski, were taken prisoners; and Kouzmine the very same day blew out his brains. Soukinhoff, another lieutenant, succeeded in escaping and crossing the frontier, but he was soon after arrested at Kicheneff and delivered up by the Moldavian authorities to a neighbour too powerful to be refused. On the side of the imperial troops there were none slain or wounded; the rebels had not fired

a shot; they had blindly cast themselves in front of the fire of artillery; afterwards they had given up all thoughts of resistance and had been taken prisoners to the number of seven hundred.

This act of armed rebellion was, till the revolt of the military colonies in 1832, the last that came to the knowledge of the public; excepting a few acts of riot among the peasantry, order was everywhere restored; and if the government had still to act with severity, it was, from that time, only with the sword of justice.

The state of Sergius Mouravieff's wounds did not admit of his being compelled to undertake immediately the journey of 330 leagues which separate Vassilkoff from St. Petersburg; but Matthew was placed forthwith upon a sledge and conveyed to the capital under a strong escort. The emperor desired that he should undergo a preliminary interrogatory in person, doubtless in order to elicit facts by surprise, which his different agents might have been interested in concealing from him; afterwards he allowed him to write to his father in his very closet. At one blow, the unfortunate Mouravieff-Apostol lost his three elder sons: all he had now to do, as he himself said in the poetic effusion of his grief, was to cover his head with their ashes. For a situation like his, religion alone can supply an efficacious consolation; but, faithful to his adoration of antiquity, M. Mouravieff sought his in the perusal of the "Prometheus" of Æschylus, a prototype of strongly moulded characters. His son Matthew did not display

the same stoicism; Christian sentiments had more power over him than the lessons of paganism: he was full of repentance. His letter was affecting: he was henceforth unworthy, he wrote to the author of his days, to call him his father, but he could not renounce that dear name which he then used perhaps for the last time; now only did he see the whole depth of the abyss over which he had long walked so giddily; he entreated his younger brother (by another mother) to profit by the terrible lesson which his elder brothers had given him, and to maintain an inviolable faith towards his sovereign.

A few days after, the regiment of Tchernigoff and the whole of the first army took an oath to the Emperor Nicholas.

CHAPTER II.

MORAL STATE OF RUSSIA UNDER ALEXANDER.—THE SECRET SOCIETIES.

THE deeds of the 26th of December and the 15th of January, especially the former, will stand forth in the history of Russia as deplorable catastrophes,—painful symptoms of the evil that is consuming the nation through its highest ranks.

However, by considering them abstractedly, as we have just done, perhaps we should not sufficiently estimate the gravity of the inward commotion of which those days were at bottom only turbulent but transient explosions, concentrated moreover in the two localities where they took place, without spreading further. Nevertheless, perhaps no political disturbance, since the resistance provoked by the excessively arbitrary reforms of Peter the Great, had been so serious. The eighteenth century, everywhere else fruitful in scenes of violence, was not barren in the house of Romanoff, or rather in the two surviving female lines; but they were almost exclusively court revolutions, planned and accomplished by a few persons, either favourites or high dignitaries, without any class of the people taking the least part in them;

for we do not count the regiments of guards, bribed by largesses or led astray by deceitful speeches, the blind instruments of those court intrigues of which the sanguinary death of Paul I. offered the last but not the most revolting example. Pougatcheff's rebellion in 1773* presents, it is true, a very different character; yet it was not, properly speaking, a revolutionary enterprise, but an attempt made by an adventurer to turn to his own account the last gleam of the spirit of independence among the Cossacks,† who did not love the Russians any more than did the Poles, and who were especially vexed to see the throne fall once more into female hands, when Catherine II. ascended it, after having made away with her husband, the unfortunate Peter III. None of these events, however serious their consequences may have been, had any root in the country itself; they were accidents, for good or ill, which, without having a voice in the matter, it was obliged to endure. The revolt of the regiment of Semenoff against its colonel, during the absence of Alexander, then on his road to the congress of Troppau (in 1820), was an act of despair to which the soldiers were driven by the harshness of a commander of German extraction: the soldiers, moreover, were full of submission to their emperor, and ready to suffer the punishment they had

* See for an account of this revolt, Voltaire's correspondence with Catherine II: letter 136 *et seq.*

† See for what concerns the Cossacks, our work, "La Russie, La Pologne, et la Finlande," p. 426-444, and the continuation of the subject in ch. v.

incurred by their transient breach of discipline.* But the insurrection of 1825 presents a very different aspect.

Doubtless, as we have said, the people remained completely strangers to it: in their estimation, the czar, be he good or bad, kind or cruel, is the representative of God showering down his blessings among men, or inflicting evils upon them just as he pleases, without their having any right to murmur against him. The Russian people will rise, when in utter despair, against a local oppression grown insupportable, after inhuman treatment, or some unexpected or inexplicable scourge;† they mutiny before subaltern tyrants and shameless officials; but they never rebel against the emperor, or take arms for political questions. For a long time it cannot be otherwise, and, knowing this, the scenes of 1825 and 1826 must have inspired the autocrat with a sense of great security. On the other hand, these very scenes revealed the existence of a numerous discontented class, impotent, it is true, so long as it remains abandoned to itself, without exciting the popular sympathy, but containing nevertheless the germs of a future opposition, silently hostile to autocracy.

People have spoken much, and still often speak, of a

* See *ante*.

† The plague of Moscow, in 1771, and the cholera morbus in 1831, both attended with horrible excesses. We shall revert to the cholera morbus in our future publications on Russia, but in this volume we propose to say a few words about the contagion of 1771. See Notes and Explanations—Note (7), as well as the notice on the family Orloff, Note (2).

pretended aristocratic party said to be sometimes strong enough to impose its own will upon the sovereign, or at least to suspend the effects of his; it is represented as looking grim at its master, standing apart, and undertaking the task of checking the chariot of state on the steep road of progress. This party, in which an ancient aristocratic pride is mingled with a great disgust for that bureaucracy which serves as a prop for the government, seems to us fraught with little danger. But several hundreds of persons of every rank, origin, and religion,* were compromised in the events of 1825 ;† the clergy alone do not figure in it, or rather they are represented in it only by that worthless simoniac of whom we spoke in the preceding

* Amongst the prisoners in the citadel of St. Petersburg, there were fourteen Protestants who all received, on Easter-day, the communion from the hands of the Minister Reinboth. According to the testimony of this ecclesiastic, they were all treated with humanity, and even with a certain respect.

† The government was interested in disguising this melancholy fact, especially from foreign countries; accordingly it took pains to extenuate it. First, it was very careful not to arrest indiscriminately the members of the Secret Societies, though they had been suppressed by an ukase. "The commission of inquiry was satisfied with requiring merely the arrest or the confrontation with each other of those whom credible testimony authorized to consider as *accomplices in the most criminal designs, and as likely to prove dangerous.*"—("Report," p. 7.) Secondly, in an official article, dated January 29th (old style), inserted in the "Journal de Saint Petersbourg" (1826, No. 14), we read the two following passages: "Their intentions were such, that the number of men who consented to adopt and execute them, must necessarily have been very small." "We repeat, the number of the conspirators, and especially that of the ringleaders, is inconsiderable." With respect to the interior of the empire, Nicholas took care to state, in his manifesto of the 1st (13th) of June, that "the evil had not sprung up during his reign, and that it did not menace him personally, but the whole country in common."

chapter. If the military, generals, colonels, or inferior officers furnished the most numerous contingent, it is because in Russia the career of arms is generally the starting point in the public service, even to arrive at high civil functions; but among the conspirators, we find functionaries of every ministerial department, and also literary men, some of whom were reckoned among the intellectual spirits of a country in this respect still rather poorly endowed. If Alexander Pouschkin, a real genius, and the most popular of the Russian poets, abstained from a movement with which he certainly sympathized in his heart, but the tortuous proceedings of which his loyalty doubtless censured, it is nevertheless well known that he had long been classed among the malcontents. Towards the close of Alexander's reign, he had suddenly renounced the service; being treated with suspicion by the government, he had been forbidden to live either at St. Petersburg or Moscow, and he had imparted his grief to the people in his *Epistle to Iasykoff:* "I am the sport of cruel fate; for years, I have wandered at the caprice of despotism without a home." Besides, however it may be as regards this prince of Russian poets, the names of Bestoujeff, Ryleïeff, Glinka, Rosen, Küchelbecker, and others, belong to literature; and never had so many men, of such different classes, officers of every grade, functionaries, poets, and nobles, taken part in an attempt directed against the government. In this respect, the movement of 1825 acquires extreme gravity, though it may also be accounted for

by equally singular circumstances: Alexander's liberalism contrasting with the things as they were; the great number of Frenchmen cast into Russia by the emigration, who, becoming preceptors of the young nobles, implanted in the minds of their pupils, in spite of their own detestation of revolutions, principles which, when applied to the country where they lived, might themselves be considered as revolutionary.

Having mentioned Alexander Pouschkin, we beg to be allowed to make a short digression in his favour.

Accused of having been wanting in the respect due to the throne, he remained for several months confined to his estate in the environs of Pskoff, whence he was not allowed to stir till after the accession of Nicholas. About the time of his coronation, the youthful monarch had a strong wish to judge personally of the sentiments of a man whose genius he admired. The "Byron of Russia," less untractable than his model, presented himself before him, and they had a long private conversation in the emperor's study. Nicholas, sincerely desirous of assuaging the discontent of the proud and ardent mind of the poet, listened without impatience to his austere, simple, honest, sensible language; in his turn, the czar appealed to his feelings by some of those cordial expressions which speak to the heart, and with which the emotion of his own inspired him, on more than one occasion, at the commencement of his reign. They came to a good understanding, and the disagreeable impressions of the past were obliterated. The emperor

restored to Pouschkin the right of inhabiting either capital at pleasure, or any part of the empire he desired, and moreover announced to him with his own lips that henceforth, he should have no other censor than himself (the emperor). The bard of *Oneghine* could not withstand such generosity: reconciled to his country, he became friendly to the government, served as a volunteer in the campaign of Asia against the Turks in the army of Paskevitch, accompanied it as far as Erzeroum, returned afterwards, and settled at St. Petersburg, and undertook the important task of writing the history of Peter the Great, which, with all due respect to Voltaire, would have been by no means an Iliad after Homer. Unfortunately, the poet's days were numbered: it is well-known that he fell in a duel with his brother-in-law, in February, 1837. Pouschkin's name will survive with those of Karamzin and Kryloff, the fabulist: it is hitherto the only one in modern Russian literature preserved in the memory of our regions of the West.

Before returning to our subject, we must here set down a few general observations, intended to explain how Russia, where the work of popular emancipation had hardly commenced, was able to engage in a career of revolutions, pursued in the manner of so many other nations of Europe infinitely more advanced in civilization.

The state of things in Russia is strange, the consequence of which is a state of uneasiness, which

nobody entirely escapes. The reader may remember the explanations already given on this head in our Introduction. Peter the Great found barbarism in his country, even as, in our time, Mahmoud II. did in Turkey, and perhaps to a greater degree; for, in default of Christianity, Turkey possessed an admirable position, enjoying a fine climate and the proximity of two seas. This barbarism was the more odious to him as he perceived it to be his chief obstacle,—a source of inferiority and impotence. He needed to be strong, and he was determined to be rich and powerful: to obtain this end, it was necessary to impart to the Russians knowledge, activity, and a manner of living like that of other nations. Accordingly, exterior power, and material prosperity, were the only aims of the czar-reformer. His government became European as if by magic, and, to gain his favour, the nobles of his court were forced to become so likewise. However, civilization, far from being of instantaneous growth, is the slow and difficult produce of time: the spirit of imitation may counterfeit its appearance, but nothing that is not gradually accomplished, can supply the place of the intellectual and the moral. It is then, as it has been termed, tinselled barbarism: when brought in contact with mere and simple barbarism, such as it is found among the people at large, the primitive nature incessantly reappears among the upper classes, on whom the benefit of education is often nothing more than an entirely superficial, though brilliant varnish.

It is to this hasty civilization, the offspring of fear or interest, that the extreme indigence of Russia, in matters of intellectual creation, must be attributed: this is what we must accuse, if literature, old before its prime, has produced no master-piece truly worthy of such an appellation; if art languishes; if the church seems to be petrified; if characters are without energy; and if history makes abstractions of individuals. The fever of imitation stifles or excludes those spontaneous sentiments and that clear and calm purpose which are originality and oftentimes genius.

But it also gives rise to another and most serious inconvenience.

Bound by self-love to follow the footsteps of progress, indefatigable in imitating and appropriating to themselves every kind of novelty that appears in the world of fashion, in literature and the arts, or in the direction of material interests, the educated classes in Russia, and with them the government, have the same wants and necessities as cultivated minds in all other countries; like these, they are familiar with the notions of liberty, publicity, national sovereignty, and independent and inviolable justice, now so common among constitutional states. But, in their rapid progress, the educated classes are not followed by the bulk of the nation, who are little acquainted with such matters, and little interested about them. The result of this is a fact of extreme gravity; which is, that in Russia there are, so to speak, two nations; one placed at the summit of civilization, and the other, at the best, in

a state of slow and hardly perceptible transition. M. de Custine's words,* "a half barbarous society, but regularized by fear," apply only to the latter. The interests of these two nations are irreconcilable: there is a gulf betwixt them; what appears necessary to the one would be injurious to the other; what the former ardently desires, the latter rejects as foreign from its faith and national tradition. Now, to which of the two ought most favour to be shewn; which ought to be governed to the detriment of the other?

Ought it to be the minority, a fraction interesting from its science, its elegant manners, and its wealth,—a fraction, moreover, whose numerical force may be estimated at a few millions? If so, they must have liberal laws and institutions, founded on the co-operation of citizens in public affairs; and such laws would interrupt the unity of so vast an empire, displease the multitude, and doubtless the church, and widen still more the gulf of which we have spoken,—in a word, it would occasion anarchy. Or should it be the majority: for the welfare of those 50,000,000 of men still grovelling in servitude or in a state of degradation which results from it, and is equal to it? If so, you must place a barrier against every intellectual importation, do violence to the wants of the former class of which we have spoken, check their aspirations, lead them back, cut off all their communications with abroad, and keep them in check by the rigour of the laws.

Such is the fatal alternative in which Russia is

* Vol. iii. p. 95.

placed, thanks to the work of Peter the Great, and especially to the everlasting European imitations of his successors. In the space of a century, much might have been done to bring these two nations into closer communion, by instructing the one termed the *black people* (*tchornii narod*), and in nourishing in the other the national, in the place of the imitative spirit. The government has committed the enormous fault of disdaining this important task, and that disdain which, perceiving its mistake, it has at length abandoned, now bears its fruits.

The difficulty is great: Alexander perceived this; and this it was that paralysed and arrested the execution of his projects. A sincere partisan of liberal ideas, he found himself hemmed in on every side, and was everywhere stumbling against almost insurmountable obstacles; in this dilemma he turned to the right-about, so far as to treat as criminal enterprises provoked, or at least encouraged, by himself. He thus excited hatred against himself, and that hatred grew stronger and more envenomed in meetings which at first he had sanctioned, but which he afterwards distrusted; which he prohibited later, and among which he was at last considered nothing better than an apostate unworthy of respect.

Now let us return to the conspiracy; and in order to estimate its real importance, let us no longer confine ourselves to the knowledge of the facts which appeared on the surface of things, but let us penetrate into the secret cabals, and go back to the original springes

of this plot, so patiently contrived, but nevertheless, too soon abandoned to hands which could only throw everything into confusion.

Here we must remind the reader of the restrictions already laid down. As an historian of a contemporaneous event, the gravity of which has not been fully appreciated, and which nobody has yet made known in its entire extent, we are obliged to enter into a great number of details. These may appear trifling to many readers; in that case, we beg them to have the goodness to remember that, independently of our task as a chronicler, and of our having been an eye-witness of the events related, we have wished to study Russian civilization in its present state, and that nothing is more likely to give us an exact idea of it than these interior debates, the movement of the secret societies, and the ambitious or enthusiastic agitation of their numerous initiated members.

We have already seen in the account of the two catastrophes which happened, one in the north, and the other in the south, that a very different spirit animated the two principal centres of the conspiracy. One of these centres was abandoned to the turbulent and ambitious activity of a man who loved agitation, either on its own account and to satisfy his natural impetuosity, or as a means of emerging from his obscurity, and of creating for himself a situation proportioned to his talents; in the other, in which civic manners preponderated over the habits of military life, there prevailed the liberalism of our century, or a cer-

tain ideology, the mother of enthusiasm, foreign to all personal views;—in a word, disinterested. Well then, from the very beginning, these two spirits were represented in the secret societies established in Russia: the former by Paul Pestel, with whom the reader is already sufficiently acquainted, and who was the framer of the statutes of the oldest among them; and the latter, by Alexander Mouravieff, their real founder, of whom we have not yet spoken.

Like the Tolstoïs, the Galitsins, the Dolgoroukis, and others, the Mouravieffs are extremely numerous in Russia: the history of the conspiracy presents us with men of this name belonging to three different branches. We have already mentioned the Mouravieff-Apostols and their relationship with Michael Nikita Mouravieff, one of the tutors of Alexander and Constantine, the distinguished author of different historical, philosophical, and esthetical works, specially composed for the use of his pupils.* We shall speak later of Artamon Mouravieff, brother-in-law to Count Cancrine, and one of the instruments of the conspiracy of the south. In this place, our business is with Alexander Nikolaïevitch Mouravieff. He was the son of a general, known for his works on the art of war, and the brother of that captain of the guards (Nicholas Nicolaïevitch) whose "Voyage to Khiva," written about the year 1820, is not forgotten by the learned, and who, having been after-

* After having completed the education of the grand-dukes, he became successively a senator, a secretary of state, and a colleague of the minister of public instruction. He died at St. Petersburg, on the 29th of July, 1807.

wards employed in the campaign of Turkey in Asia, charged with a mission in Egypt, and invested with the command of the troops which Russia, at the demand of Mahmoud II., landed in 1833, opposite Constantinople, became one of the most esteemed generals of the empire.

Alexander Mouravieff had received an excellent education, and the cultivation of his mind could only be equalled by his personal beauty and the nobleness of his manners.* He had served in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, as aide-de-camp to General Tchernycheff, and had performed high confidential functions at the head-quarters in Paris. Shortly after his return to Russia, Alexander Mouravieff retired from military service, either because he had nothing to do, or perhaps from loyalty, in order to remain faithful to his liberal opinions without transgressing his oaths. Those opinions were in him a matter of conscience: he was a religious man, a tender husband, and an excellent father; and when God chastened him by taking from him some of his children,† he doubtless felt it as a punishment more severe than that from which the clemency of the emperor afterwards relieved him.

We have already indicated the causes of the liberalism of so many young Russians; a few particulars on

* Such is the description of him as furnished by M. Erman ("Reise um die Erde," t. ii., p. 78), who met him at Irkoutsk, where, after his condemnation, mitigated by the emperor, he had become a municipal magistrate (*gorodnitcheï*). The penalty of hard labour had been commuted in his favour into a simple banishment to Siberia, without any loss of rank or nobility.

† His wife also died while sharing her husband's exile.

the mode of life of the persons of the class to which they belong, will complete the explanation.

Enthusiasm may arise from a mobility as well as from an intensity of feeling: in Germany, it springs from the latter cause; in Russia, from the former. But in Russia it has not a favourable soil. Amid the calculations of material life, it is difficult for the sentiments to become impassioned, and the sight of those monotonous plains covered with snow during six or seven months of the year, under a gray or murky sky, plunges the soul into a kind of apathy which is the very opposite of enthusiasm. To conjure away this evil, says an enlightened and sincere Russian, "we are forced to have recourse to strong and lively sensations; the vicissitudes of gaming, the excitement of dancing, the noise of vast assemblies, the sensuality of the table, the velocity of our sledges, the emotions of the theatre, the frequency of travelling and removing—whatever may interrupt the monotony of a captive existence, becomes an imperative want which must be satisfied at any price, under pain of dying of consumption."* Accordingly, the Russians generally pass for a sensual and frivolous people: "they live and die," says M. de Custine, "without having once looked at the serious side of existence. Doubtless, there might be found many honourable exceptions; but exceptions, as is well known, only confirm the rule.

* See Dupré de St. Maure, "Petersbourg, Moscou, et les Provinces," t. ii. p. 98.

Thus idealism is not a common tendency in Russia. In that country reality has the greatest attraction for all, and the necessity of enjoyment favours there, still more than elsewhere, that worship of the material interests which is one of the evils of our century. In a portrait, doubtless exaggerated, but very curious, which the travelling moralist whom we have just quoted, sketches of Russians of the higher classes,* he accuses them of living in a state of complete moral anarchy, in which he knows not what surprises him the most, the licence of some or the moderation of others. And as, according to his custom, he makes autocracy responsible for this disorder, he levels against it an imputation, expressed in a manner too remarkable for us to pass it by in silence, but nevertheless too serious to be admitted without some restriction. "The government of this country," says he, "is too enlightened not to know that, under absolute power, a revolt must burst forth somewhere or other, and it would rather that it should do so in morals than in politics."

However, since the French Revolution, a succession of great events, the prodigies of the empire—the catastrophe of Moscow, the rising *en masse* of nations against foreign oppression, the religious and almost mystical spirit which animated them in their struggle, offered an extraordinary aliment to enthusiasm; and Russia did not fail to accept her share. Besides, till very lately, the young Russian nobility have almost always been educated by tutors engaged from abroad,

* "La Russie en 1839," t. iii. p. 347 *et seq.*

especially French or Swiss, the former heartily detesting revolutions, though involuntarily inclined towards them by the natural vivacity of their minds and the factious freedom of their language; and the latter being the avowed friends of progress and new ideas, and ever ready to serve as their apostles. Had not even Catherine II. chosen César Laharpe to form the minds of her grandchildren? Being more inclined to initiate their pupils in the doctrines they professed than to develope in them ideas compatible with the order of things in which they were destined to live, these foreign masters often ill prepared them for the task they were to fulfil afterwards towards so backward a population. There are infirmities the sight of which we must learn to support until a remedy for them has been discovered: to look upon them with disgust is not the way to cure them. Knowledge will triumph sooner or later, over all the remains of ancient barbarism; but to produce a salutary effect, knowledge ought to be dispensed with prudence, by degrees, and in such a manner as not to give birth to new wants before it is reasonable or possible to satisfy them.

Having been long imbued with ideas termed liberal, though still sterile relatively to their own country, many of these youths, officers in the guards, or scattered throughout the different corps of the Muscovite army, became still more completely so during their long residence in Germany and France, from 1813 to 1816. In the former of these countries, the patriotic enthusiasm, the politico-religious ferment, the general

diffusion of the most solid and real knowledge; and, in the latter, the wonder due to the perfection of all the arts, the public spirit, the freedom of speech, and the equality consecrated by manners even more than by laws, had given them much matter for meditation, and a sad reflection on their own country could not fail to be the consequence of their observations. There, the people were still grovelling in ignorance, separated, as we have said, by a gulf from the nobility, nay, even from the citizen classes in certain towns, such as St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Odessa, Revel, Mitan, Koursk, Orel, and others. This nobility made its glory consist in the vain glitter of luxury, and in all the trifles of outward elegance, more than in profundity of knowledge, superiority of merit, or consistency and dignity of character. The Third Estate, that strength of modern societies, was at best only in the bud; the manufacturing system will perhaps succeed in creating one, but at that time, that system, the object of so many controversies, was not yet in action. The clergy were devoid of manners as much as of knowledge and spiritual tendencies; they were without that magisterial influence, the supreme power of that check which is always imposed, in default of institutions, by old customs and deeply-rooted manners. Shackles of every kind impeded the circulation of ideas; legislation was a chaos; the law was devoid of sanction, and its exact application daily compromised by the venality of its functionaries. Yet such a state of things existed under a generous, philanthropic prince, the friend of

knowledge, intimately familiar with all the liberal ideas of which he was often the eloquent interpreter, and which he had often proclaimed to be at once the want and the honour of the century! How would it have been if Paul had had a successor like himself?

As we have seen, at the commencement of this history, Alexander was less behind his age than any sovereign of his time. He rejoiced at seeing the Russians, in their turn, join the movement of the intellectual world; he delightedly expected this effect from the share his empire was taking in the great European struggle. "The march of the Russian army through Germany and on to Paris," said he, in an audience given at Berlin in 1813,* "will be profitable to all Russia. There is a new epoch in history about to commence for us also, and my projects are multifarious." However, for the present, he confined the application of his liberal views to Poland, which had long been in the enjoyment of free institutions, but which that aristocratic republic had, unfortunately for itself, made the monopoly of a single class. Alexander thought they might be applied there at once, and without danger.

But was it possible that Russia, still intoxicated with victory, could believe herself without the pale of the civilization of the century, outside the general movement, and incapable of sharing in it, when the same

* See the book, already frequently quoted, of the evangelical bishop, Dr. Eylert, "Charakterzüge und Historische Fragmenta aus dem Leben Friedrick Wilhelm's III.," t. ii. p. 255.

ideas were fermenting there in every youthful brain? During the reign of Paul, an absolute monarch who exaggerated even to illusion the conviction of his imperial power, pretensions of this kind would have been repressed and taxed as criminal; but now they were advanced with confidence, for their authors were able to invoke the authority of words uttered from the very throne.* Those words repeated on different occasions, confirmed the young Russian officers more and more in that liberalism to which they had been already accustomed under the paternal roof, and which they saw reigning in England, Germany, and France. It was the fashion of everybody to conform his own language to that of the emperor. People felt so sure of being agreeable to the czar in taking this direction, that they went so far as to communicate to him the often precocious or still-born productions of that philosophical spirit imported from abroad, which was no longer hostile to the religious sentiment. Alexander received the plans of regeneration conceived by so many young reformers, without proceeding with them, it is true, but in that affable and gracious manner which was peculiar to himself. It might nevertheless have been foreseen that this mania would at length exhaust his patience; for, good heavens!

* We may perceive their influence even in the Russian journals of that period. The following appeared on the 4th of October, 1816, in the "Post du Nord," printed at St. Petersburg:—"The liberty of the press, protected by our august monarch, has the inappreciable advantage of allowing every truth to reach the foot of the throne; it can displease none but those who wish to isolate the prince from his people, and such men will never be listened to during the reign of Alexander."

what would Russia have become with a rising generation animated by such a spirit, or with an army commanded by officers each of whom had the plan of a constitution in his pocket!

We must confess that this fever of liberalism was really dangerous; the men of the old school were not the only persons who said so: a Russian general officer, himself a liberal, uttered the following significant words in 1816, as he was quitting French Flanders with a few regiments: "Instead of sending us back home," cried he, "the emperor would do better to drown us all in the Baltic."

Formerly in our Western regions, liberal ideas, whether in religion or in politics, before making an irruption into the world, remained a long time confined to a circle of adepts meeting in secret or sometimes under the protection of the government; they thus gained strength, arrived at maturity, and prepared their future triumph noiselessly, without impatience and without being exposed to the vulgar contempt of a populace still too ignorant to comprehend them. This esoterism was a necessity for higher intellects, and a subject of hope for the future welfare of all; nay, it was a source of security to the state; for the multitude was thus preserved from the contact of those dangerous torches, which, kindled prematurely, and imprudently brandished, often produce, in lieu of a beneficent light, a general conflagration.

Is this same esoterism still possible in our own time, when so many different ferments are incessantly

agitating the people? The answer of government to this question has been in the negative, and they have almost everywhere prohibited secret societies. At the time of which we are speaking, enlightened and patriotic men thought, on the contrary, that these societies were the only remedy for the evil which is consuming Russia; that they would happily blend the pretensions of one class with the diametrically opposite wants of another, and form, without any danger, a gentle transition from the present state to a more hopeful future.

At that period secret societies had not yet been forbidden:* they were very numerous, and the greater part of them were very inoffensive. Everybody made a point of belonging to an association of the kind: it was on this condition alone that a man believed himself to be a friend of progress and to be of some moral worth. These associations were secret only in name, or if there was anything really concealed in them it was less on account of their dangerous designs than to give still greater attraction to the speculations in which they indulged.

A few men, however, associated together with more

* The prohibition, expressed in a mandate to the minister of the interior, Count Victor Kotchoubeï, is dated April 25th (13th) 1822. It commanded likewise the closing of all the masonic lodges. By virtue of this decision, every functionary of the government was to declare, on oath, whether he belonged to any secret society at home or abroad; to swear to break off every tie or communication with the societies to which he might have belonged; upon pain of deprivation of office and beggary; and no one could obtain any civil or military employment without signing the same declaration. This mandate was rigorously executed; the sale of the furniture of the lodges was made in public, as if to make a laughing-stock of the mysteries of freemasonry.

defined and premeditated views, and these seriously believed in the necessity of shrouding themselves in mystery. The Tugendbund of the German students was then exercising a powerful influence over every imagination.* It was thought that Russia, where the emancipation of the people was advancing so slowly and timidly, needed more than any other country institutions of that kind, which, however, were by no means hostile to the supreme authority, since in Germany the kings had just found in them useful auxiliaries.

Alexander Mouravieff, young, enthusiastic, upright, and a sincere friend of his country, figured conspicuously among the abettors of these secret societies. Perhaps he did not do himself justice when, seeing the results, he afterwards repentantly alleged that the mainspring of his actions had been "an ill-conceived love of his native land concealing from his own eyes the impulses of a restless ambition." At all events, he did not belong to that class of young men stigmatized by the official press† as led astray by their ardent and licentious imaginations, as well as by the example of the revolutions of which Europe had been the theatre, and who "forgot the noble traditions of true patriotism which were preserved in the bosom of the Russian nation, their most sacred duties towards the sovereign and the state, the oaths they had taken, the social position in which they stood, to abandon them-

* Its statutes may be seen in the "Staats-Lexikon," by Rotteck and Welker, at the article *Tugendbund*, t. xv. p 463.

† No. 14 of the "Journal de Saint Pétersbourg," 1826.

selves to the dream of an *absolute reform* in Russia, and to combine in the dark for the means of accomplishing it." His only aim was the public welfare ; and it was not to violence, commotion, or regicide, that he thought of having recourse to realize it. His example and influence led astray his brother Michael Mouravieff, but it was to Nikita (Nicetas) Mouravieff, a more distant relation, and to Prince Sergius Troubetzkoi, that he first communicated his projects.

Our readers are already acquainted with the prince. Nikita Mouravieff* was a young man of a lively imagination, a warm heart, and a resolute character. When twelve years old, eluding his mother's vigilance, he absconded from the paternal roof at Moscow to go and fight the French, then marching upon that capital. Since then he had been attached to Benningsen's staff, and had entered Hamburg with him in May, 1814. Later, he espoused a young Countess Tchernycheff, and had associated in his plans his brother-in-law, the young Count Zachary, of whom we have already spoken,† an officer in the guards, and the only hope of an illustrious family. At the

* He died in Siberia in 1846.

† Vol. i. There exists in Russia but a small number of majorats. The Tchernycheff family was in the possession of one of them, and 14,000 serfs belonged to it. After the condemnation of the young count, General Tchernycheff, of whom we have spoken in vol. i., laid claim to this rich inheritance ; but he was disappointed in his hopes ; the majorat passed to Count Zachary's eldest sister (Madame Mouravieff was the second), whose husband then assumed the name of Count Tchernycheff-Krouglikoff. The last male heir, admitted by favour to serve as a private soldier in the army of the Caucasus, died a short time after.

time of the revolt, Nikita Mouravieff was a captain in the staff of the guards.

His first conferences with his relation Alexander and Prince Troubetzkoï took place as early as 1816. Captain Jakouschkin and Mouravieff-Apostol's two elder brothers were successively admitted to their meetings. The association was limited as to number; for the first steps of these future conspirators were characterised by extreme timidity; they raised theories, they did not prepare to act. To decide them to lay aside this supineness required the intervention of a bolder man, one less inclined to observe circumspection.

This man was Paul Pestel, then a young officer, aide-de-camp to Count de Wittgenstein, but already what he afterwards shewed himself, imperious, absolute, and inclined to extreme measures.

Having made the acquaintance of Alexander Mouravieff in 1817, he organized with him and his friends, under the title of *Union of Salvation* (*Soïous spacénia*), or *Worthy Sons of the Country*, one of the first secret societies, the statutes of which, extracted from a few masonic lodges, were his own work. They were founded on blind obedience; and, in the ceremony of initiation, the most fearful emblems, such as daggers and poison, were judged necessary to add to the solemnity of the oaths.

Equality was not Pestel's ruling passion: his first principle was constantly the necessity of constituting a strong hierarchy, so as to concentrate all the power in the superior degree, accessible only to a few. Accord-

ingly, we find in his first statutes these three degrees, *brothers*, *men*, and *boïars*. The earliest members of the society were, with a few persons chosen by them, to compose this last class, which was superior to the other two, and from which the *elders* or *directors* were to be elected every month. To give institutions to the empire was, from the beginning, the real aim of the society; but a remote future alone could realise this aim, and, till then, it was important that their time should be usefully employed. They therefore discussed, in their meetings, the means of working for the public welfare; of cooperating in the accomplishment of every useful design, if not by any active proceedings, at least by an approbation publicly expressed; and of contributing to the repression of abuses, by divulging every culpable act which the functionaries or any of the government agents might commit. In the estimation of Alexander Mouravieff and Prince Troubelzkoï, this was the most essential and the most immediately practicable part of their task; but to an ambitious man, like Pestel, impatient of arriving at power, such pacific intentions, even if carried into effect, could be only accessories.

Another secret society was being organized at St. Petersburg by Major-General Michael Orloff. This important personage and zealous patriot was the eldest of the adopted sons of Count Fëodor Orloff,* one of the five brothers of this name so famous during the reign of Catherine II. He had espoused a daughter of

* See notice No. (2) in the Notes and Explanations of this volume.

the honourable General Raïefski. He himself had served in the army with distinction. He had arrived before Paris with his father-in-law's regiment, and his signature was conspicuous to the capitulation of the 31st of March, 1814; but, being an avowed partisan of the constitutional form of government, he had devoted all his admirable faculties to that cause, and had been so bold as to press Alexander to grant a charter to his subjects.* The society founded by General Orloff had two objects in view :† first, that of putting an end "to the collisions and other abuses which had crept into the interior administration of the empire," and, secondly, that of counterbalancing the influence of the secret Polish societies which were said to be striving to re-establish Poland in her former condition,—a tendency to which the Russian patriots were avowedly opposed, but which they suspected the Emperor Alexander of encouraging. The denomination they had chosen was that of the *Society of Russian Chevaliers.* This society died almost at its birth, although it numbered among its founders, besides Orloff, Count Mamonoff, a very estimable patriot, who had been initiated in the ancient Russian free-masonry, against which Catherine

* In Lesur's "Annuaire" for 1822 (p. 322), we read as follows :— "There are important changes in the army of the south, commanded by Count de Wittgenstein. Reports had spread concerning some democratic proceedings in General Sabanieff's army, and especially in Orloff's division, where mutual instruction on the Lancastrian method had been introduced,—proceedings which have occasioned the punishment of several soldiers, and the dismissal of a few officers. But the government has ordered these reports to be contradicted."

† "Report," p. 12.

II., though "a republican in soul," believed herself obliged to wage war, considering it as a coterie of malcontents.

Being in communication, these first two secret societies invited each other to unite; but they could not agree upon the bases of such a union. Nay, perfect unanimity did not even reign in the older of the two, the only one that had really an existence. It had been recruited with new members; however, since the departure of Pestel for Mitan, which was then the head-quarters of Count Wittgenstein, it had been halting between two opposite opinions. Whilst, according to the wishes of some, the society was to confine itself to a gradual action upon the minds of men, to expunge from its regulations all the violent laws adopted by Pestel, and to substitute regulations borrowed from the *Tugendbund* code, as it had just been published by the German journal entitled "Freiwillige Blœtter;" others, if we are to believe the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry," suggested a horrible recourse to regicide as the only means of arriving at an efficacious reform. Among the latter, according to this "Report," the man who made himself most remarkable, with the exception of Michael Lounine, who was a lieutenant-colonel in one of the cavalry regiments of the guard (Grodno hussars), was Major Prince Chakhofskoï, belonging to a family illustrious by birth and celebrated for the honour of having bestowed on Russia her most prolific dramatic poet. Takouschkin, excited by the violent language of his colleagues, and moreover a prey to the

torments of an unhappy passion which made him detest life, offered, it is said, to slay the emperor with his own hand.

The confusion produced by such a difference of opinions, brought about the dissolution of the earlier society, or at least its complete reorganization. Another instantly arose out of its ashes, which assumed the title of *Union for the Public Welfare* (*Soïous blagodenstviya*), and of which Alexander Mouravieff, with his brother Michael and Prince Sergius Troubetzkoï were the founders. This latter was durable; and, in 1819, the prince enticed into it a high functionary, M. Nicholas Tourgueneff, a man remarkable for his intelligence, and the moderation of his principles.

As his name will doubtless be transmitted with this period of the history of his country,* a few particulars of his life cannot fail to be interesting.

* We have been this moment informed that M. Tourgueneff is employed upon the publication of his own memoirs, which perhaps will appear simultaneously with the present work. We regret we did not know this circumstance sooner. The work in the press could give us no new information concerning the facts of the revolt, which we ourselves witnessed, at a time when M. Tourgueneff had been more than two years absent from his country; but there is room to believe that we might derive from it much information concerning the state of Russian society at that period. However, among the hints we have received on this head, there is one which gives us confidence. M. Tourgueneff is said to have not confined himself to disprove the numerous charges brought against him personally by the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry," but also to deny, in general, the importance of the secret societies in Russia, thereby reducing the whole conspiracy to the few acts and deliberations which immediately preceded the explosion of the revolt in December, 1825. On this latter point we regret we cannot be of his opinion, notwithstanding the just confidence which his assertions

M. Nicholas Tourgueneff, born about 1790, is the second of three brothers, all men of merit and united by the strongest bonds of affection. Their father, a provincial governor, had long before given proofs of that craving of the intellect, those spiritual tendencies which afterwards swayed the minds of his sons. He had belonged to that sect of theosophists and free-masons termed *Martinists*, which, at Moscow, counted the famous Prince Repnine among its principal protectors. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the eldest of the three brothers, Alexander Tourgueneff, one of the principal auxiliaries of Prince Galitsin in the ministry of public worship, and who terminated at Moscow, on the 15th of December, 1845, a most honourable career. The second son, M. Nicholas Tourgueneff, after having thoroughly studied law at Göttingen, had been appointed, in 1813, Russian commissary attached to the person of Baron de Stein, charged with the provisional administration of the German countries retaken from France. The elevated character of the celebrated Prussian statesman, the patriot and liberal, had made a strong impression on his mind. On his return to Russia, he entered the civil service, where he rose to the rank of *actual* councillor of state.* Devoted to his native land, and a sincere well-wisher to the

must inspire: his view of the subject, in our opinion, agrees neither with the testimony of the facts, nor with the confessions of a great number of the condemned.

* Notwithstanding this epithet *actual*, it is merely an honorary title, like all the others of *tchinn*; it answers to that of major-general in the army, and gives a right to the title of your Excellence.

peasantry, he had devoted himself to the study of that great question, the emancipation of the serfs,* and had collected, towards its solution, the most valuable materials. He had been appointed assistant secretary of state, a post which connected him with one of the committees of the council of the empire, and, at no distant period, he might, without presumption, have aspired even to a ministerial portfolio. The third brother was Sergius Tourgueneff. Early in 1826, he arrived in Paris after a journey to Rome, in company with Joukofski, the excellent lyric poet, and able translator of Schiller and Hebel, when he learned the news of the skirmish at St. Petersburg, and of the disclosures by which his brother Nicholas was seriously compromised. Sergius was so affected by this intelligence, that he lost his reason, and died a few months afterwards. Alexander gave a no less indisputable proof of his strong attachment to his brother: he secured his fortune, and transferred it to him at Paris, where Nicholas, now the sole survivor, has ever since resided.

Secret societies are liable to the laws in force in every country; but to shew that the *Union for the Public Welfare*, so far from pursuing a criminal course, was based upon an enlightened patriotism, it will be sufficient to indicate its character in the exact words in the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry" (p. 16-18). "The principal propositions in the code of the *union*,"

* See, on this question, chap. iv., and the Notes and Explanations, Note (15).

says the "Report," "the most remarkable ideas, and even the very style, exhibit an imitation of, and in a great measure, a translation from the German. The authors declare, in the name of the founders of the association, that the welfare of the country is their only aim; that such aim cannot be at all injurious to the views of the government; that, notwithstanding its powerful influence, as the government needs the co-operation of individuals, the society they were organizing would serve as its auxiliary in doing good; and that, without concealing its intentions from citizens worthy of sharing them, it would prosecute its labours in secrecy, to shield them from the interpretations of malevolence and hatred. The members were divided into four sections or *branches*. Every member was to be registered in one or other of the sections, without, however, the power of refusing to take a part in the labours of the others. The object of the *first section* was philanthropy, or the furtherance of public and private beneficence. Its duty was to watch over all the charitable establishments, and to report to the directors of such establishments, *as well as to the government itself*, any abuses that might creep in, and the means of remedying them. The object of the *second section* was intellectual and moral education, the propagation of knowledge, the establishment of schools, particularly on the Lancastrian system, *and a useful co-operation in the instruction of youth in general, by examples of good morals, by discussions and writings analogous to those views and in accordance with the*

*purpose of the society.** The members of this second section, were intrusted with the supervision of all the schools. They were to inspire youths with a love of all that is national, and to oppose, as far as possible, the idea of having them educated abroad, as well as every foreign influence. The *third section* was directed to pay particular attention to the proceedings of the tribunals: its members pledged themselves not to refuse such judicial functions as might be intrusted to them by the election of the nobility or by the government; to fulfil them with zeal and punctuality,† to observe carefully the progress of affairs of this nature, to encourage upright functionaries, to grant them even pecuniary assistance, to strengthen in good principles such as should betray any weakness, to enlighten such as should lack knowledge, and to inform against dishonest or corrupt officials, and expose their conduct to the government. Lastly, the members of the *fourth sec-*

* An excellent idea, and worthy of being considered by all true Russian patriots. See what we have said on this head, in our article on Russian literature, in the "Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde," t. xx. p. 723.

† The tendency to shun public employments conferred by election was but too evident. In an ukase dated August 20th, 1802, Alexander had already censured it. "We have heard," said he "that *the best among the nobles and citizens* avoid appearing at the elections, and, consequently, shun employments. The natural result of this would be that the distribution of justice would fall into the hands of persons who do not offer a sufficient guarantee," &c. Indeed, the most ordinary men, bent upon living on unlawful profits, would alone seek such duties. The patriots thought, like Alexander, that a remedy was wanting for this evil, and it was to preserve to justice its character of integrity that Rylcïlff, Pouschtchin, and other members of the secret societies, accepted gratuitous offices in the tribunals.

tion were to devote themselves to the study of political economy; they were to endeavour to discover and define the immutable principles of the wealth of nations, to contribute to the development of every branch of industry, to strengthen the public credit and to oppose monopoly."

Did this last section conceal under the cloak of science political propositions which were not confined to mere theories? We know not; but as to all the other avowed powers of the sections it is impossible to refuse them our unqualified approbation. Let us boldly state our opinion: to combine with such intentions was to deserve well of their country. In the state of things now existing in Russia, the system indicated is the only one that ought to be followed; but there was one element wanting, without which, in our estimation, it would be incomplete and ineffectual. In Russia little attention has hitherto been paid to this first of all the principles of civilization, though its exterior influences exercise an immense influence upon the multitude. It is under the auspices of religion that instruction and the teaching of morals should be placed; it is to a regenerated clergy that these important duties should be intrusted; it should be their task to open schools, to visit cottages, to exhibit good principles together with good examples, to encourage the national spirit, and arrest the contagion of foreign ideas which is so much dreaded, and which is in fact noxious, because it impels towards a factitious, borrowed, and discordant civilization. In fact,

it is now necessary to swim against the stream, to recommence things at the point where Peter the Great found them, and to develop them in quite a different direction. This noble mission can be undertaken successfully only by the clergy, but, as we have said, a completely regenerated clergy, prepared and effected by the sovereign, aided by well directed seminaries and nominations to the higher dignities in the church, made after mature reflection and with the most conscientious care.

These ideas, to which we intend to revert elsewhere, did not figure in the programme of the new secret society, but those which really found a place there are nevertheless exceedingly valuable. They seemed so little likely to appear hostile to a government which derived its powers from an Alexander, that Michael Mouravieff, strong in the belief of their inoffensiveness and in his personal intentions, which were so truly pure, proposed to solicit the monarch's assent to the establishment of the society. His proposal was negatived by a majority. Moreover, we must confess that the *green book* (so called from the colour of its binding), which ostensibly contained the regulations of the society, comprised only the first part of its statutes; it alludes to a second part which, however, never received the sanction of the more influential members. The plan of this second part was presented by Prince Troubetzkoï but without being taken into consideration, and Alexander Mouravieff threw it into the fire, together with other papers, in 1822, three

years after he had withdrawn from the society, when, to use his own expression, the ray of divine mercy had enlightened his soul which had been grovelling in darkness.*

Besides Captain Nikita Mouravieff, several persons of that name figured in the ranks of the society: for instance, Artamon colonel in the regiment of hussars of Akhtyr,† Alexander a cornet in the horse-guards, and others.

As early as 1819, the *Union of Public Welfare* counted too great a number of members for its existence to be likely to be compromised by individual desertions. The following is the manner in which it was or would have been constituted.

By virtue of their being older members, the founders of the society formed what was termed the *central union.* From that union was selected the *central council,* composed of a *surveillant* and five *assessors,* one of whom was elected under the authority of the *surveillant* to the functions of president, and then assumed the title of *chief of the union.* Every fourth month two of the assessors retired from the council and were replaced by others as was also the *surveillant* at the end of the year. When the remainder of the members of the central union joined the

* "Report," p. 50.

† This is the description appended to the name Artamon Mouravieff, brother-in-law of General Cancrine, the minister of finance, in the list annexed to the Russian original of the "Report;" but, according to the text (French transl. p. 59), he belonged, during the conspiracy, to the regiment of chevalier-guards. He died in Siberia in 1846.

council, that assembly assumed the name of *central direction.* The central council exercised the executive power in the union; the legislative power belonged to the central direction. The latter was charged with the election of the functionaries of the union, of which it formed likewise the supreme tribunal. The council was authorised to enrol members, and to invest with its powers, at their own houses, such individuals as enjoyed the confidence of the central union. Thus new *directions* were established, termed *effective, secondary,* and *principal.* They took the title of *effective* as soon as they were composed of ten members, and then received a copy of the first part of the regulations. The central union had the power of making an effective direction out of a less number than ten, whenever the need of accelerating the diffusion of the society justified this exception. Every effective direction was able to establish a *secondary* one which had no connection with any other, so long as it did not attain the number of ten members. The title of *principal* direction devolved upon all such as had completed three secondary directions, or three free societies,—a name given to associations which, without forming an integral part of the union of public welfare, were nevertheless able to contribute to the furtherance of its views by their influence on literature, the arts, and so forth. Each direction had at its head for the exercise of authority, the maintenance of order, and the division of labour, an elective council composed of a *surveillant* and one or two chiefs, according as the direction itself

was composed of ten or twenty members. Every kind of business both in the directions and in the central union was decided by a majority of votes. There were no particular ceremonies on the introduction of members: the candidate handed in a written declaration which was afterwards burnt without his knowledge. He had the right of quitting the union on taking a solemn engagement to observe secrecy respecting everything that had come to his knowledge during his membership. In order to enable the society to defray its expenses, each member was to pay into a common treasury the twenty-fifth part of his annual income;* he was moreover bound to conform to the laws of the union.

There existed two *directions* at St. Petersburg, one presided over by Semenoff, the officer of chasseurs—whom we must not confound with his namesake, the titular counsellor—and the other by Colonel Bourtzoff; moreover, there were free societies, two of which were in the regiment of Izmaïloff, one of the oldest in the guards: one established by Prince Eugene Obolenski, by Ensign Jacques Tolstoï, and by the assessor of the college Tokareff, who died during the preliminary

* On this subject we read as follows, in a notice, unfortunately too individual, on *Bestoujeff-Rumine*, in the Supplement to Michaud's "Biographie Universelle:" "The society was increasing slowly, and notwithstanding the enormous sum given by Bobrinski, son of Count Bobrinski, the illegitimate offspring of Catherine II. and Prince (Gregory) Orloff, the funds were so trifling that these mischief-makers despaired of a success which they had at first considered very easy." We know not of what this contribution consisted: there is no mention of Count Bobrinski in the "Report."

proceedings, and the other by Semenoff, the officer of chasseurs we have just mentioned.* At Moscow there existed also two directions: the former had for its president Alexander Mouravieff, who resided for some time in that capital after retiring from service; and the second, Prince Fëodor Chakhofskoï. Other directions were also established in the provinces, as we shall presently see.

Major-General Michael Orloff and M. Nicholas Tourgueneff not having succeeded in founding the society they projected, caused themselves to be enrolled in the *Union for the Public Welfare*, as we have stated. Many questions were discussed during the sittings of the directions of the council, and often violent proposals were made; but, according to Pestel, there was not one fixed principle adopted, and, on more than one occasion, what had been unanimously resolved one day was changed on the morrow. The idea of attempting the life of the Emperor Alexander was very soon proposed: it was especially seconded by Pestel and by Nicholas Mouravieff; but for a long time the other members agreed in rejecting it as odious, maintaining, with reason, that the first consequence of such a crime would be a disastrous anarchy, which the provisional government, meditated by Pestel, would not succeed in reducing to order. However, if the "Report" may be believed, this dreadful idea gained ground, and it was without question this disposition of men's minds that induced Alexander Mouravieff, frightened at the con-

* "Report," p. 23.

sequences of his own work, to quit the association. He was doubtless afraid that violence would ultimately outweigh his own views.

Pestel, on his part, saw there were no great results to be obtained at St. Petersburg; accordingly, he concentrated, from that time, all his activity on the south and on the second army, in the heart of which he had founded the *direction* of Toultchina, a town in which had just been established the head-quarters of Count de Wittgenstein, to whom, at that period, he was aide-de-camp. He was incessantly repeating to his young comrades, says the "Report," that, though it was obliged to remain a secret some time longer, Alexander's wish was to inspire the Russian youth and the troops with ideas of reform; that, in preparing a new order of things, they would be acting conformably to the monarch's intentions; that in St. Petersburg the minds of men were all in a ferment; that a society both numerous and imposing, on account of the talents or the social position of its members, was already formed there; and that everything foreboded a coming revolution. It is impossible to see without astonishment what an incredible ascendancy this young officer exercised over every mind: he made numerous proselytes, and his speeches were listened to as though they had been the language of the Gospel. Conferences were held either at his house or at Jouschnefski's, the general intendant of the second army, a functionary superior in grade, since he had the rank of major general, but with whom Pestel, who had

affiliated him to the union, remained to the last on a footing of perfect intimacy. Occasionally, when at these meetings his opinions excited contradiction, discussion degenerated into dispute. Pestel was absolute, and would never admit that the wisdom of others outweighed his own: accordingly, to be the more sure of being always in the right, he would speak at one time of a dictatorship, at another of a triumvirate; for he was fond of quoting Roman history, less, however, in favour of public liberties than of power.

A stronger organization of the society appeared a step absolutely necessary to Pestel, who became vexed at the want of agreement he met with in some, and the apathetic philosophism of others. On his part, eager to act, he was indignant at seeing that so many speeches and sittings had not yet produced the least result. Like Napoleon, he detested *prattlers* and *ideologists*.

It was doubtless in the hope of at length gaining at St. Petersburg that authority which he really enjoyed only in the south, that he proposed the holding of an assembly in which the whole society should be represented by deputies. The central union consented, and sent to Moscow, the place appointed for this assembly, two important men—Nicholas Tourgueneff, with whom the reader is already acquainted, and Foeder Glinka, the colonel of the Ismaïloff regiment, an esteemed poet, and the author of several military works.* However, Pestel was prevented from attend-

* We shall have to revert to him again; let us merely say here that

ing by his military duties: the powers of the direction, of which he was the chief, were entrusted to Colonel Bourtsoff, then the commander of the Ukraine regiment of infantry, and to Lieutenant-colonel Komaroff. Besides these four members, the general assembly was composed of Major-General Michael Von Visin (Von Wiesen), and his brother Ivan, of Major-General Michael Orloff, Colonel Grabbe,* Jakouschkin a retired captain, Michael Mouravieff, Alexander's brother, and Okhotnikoff. According to the "Report," the presidency was conferred, for the whole time the meeting might last, on M. Tourgueneff, whose moderation never failed him throughout the course of the debates. These, however, presented a spectacle of anarchy and weakness; and such was the opposition of opinions, that General Orloff declared in writing that he would withdraw from the society (a resolution in which, luckily for himself, he persisted†), while a majority of the other members thought it would be impossible to continue their meetings without exciting the suspicions of the police.

Indeed, it was high time to dissolve: some were tired of the constant renewal of the same quarrels; others recoiled at the sanguinary projects which remained no longer a mystery; others again,—and these were the real conspirators—felt the necessity of

he must not be confounded with Sergius Glinka, a journalist and dramatic author.

* Since known by the command he exercised in the Caucasus, and by the advantages which Chamyl gained over him.

† As also did Grabbe, a Prince Dolgoronki, and several others.

getting rid of those scrupulous, timid, irresolute men, (who may be false brethren, thought they,) or whose alliance at least seemed more likely to prove dangerous than advantageous to them. Consequently, towards the end of February, 1821, after a short deliberation, the president declared, in the name of all the assembled deputies, that the *Union for the Public Welfare* was from that time and for ever dissolved. The regulations and all the other papers were committed to the flames.

From that moment M. Tourgueneff no longer took any part in the secret societies; but the dissolution was only a blind on the part of the conspirators. Even before the return of the two deputies of the Toultchina direction, Pestel concerted with Touschnefski to fix upon a new plan of proceeding; they agreed to consider the dissolution as null and void, and to take advantage of the resolutions of Moscow only to purge the society, and thus get rid of men who, in their opinion, were too pusillanimous.

These latter were few in number in the South; and, accordingly, the news brought by the two delegates was ill received. Henceforth, free to do as it pleased, the Toultchina direction consolidated itself more strongly, and became itself the centre of the plot.

Pestel returned to his former plan. There were to be three classes of members: the *brethren*, or the merely initiated, who had not the right of affiliating others; the *men*, who enjoyed this right, but who must not reveal to the new adepts the names of their coasso-

ciates in the different classes; and, lastly, the *boïars*, a superior class, out of which were chosen the presidents or directors, whom, in serious emergencies, all could join in order to determine the necessary measures.

This class was composed in the following manner: besides himself and his friend Touschnefski, the general intendant, Pestel introduced Colonel Avramoff, commander of the Kasan regiment of infantry, Surgeon-Major Wolff, Captain Ivacheff, the two Krukoffs, one of whom was aide-de-camp to the general in chief; Prince Bariatinski, occupying the same confidential post; Lieutenant Bassarghine, General Prince Sergius Volkonski, a subaltern conspirator, notwithstanding his great name;* and Colonel Vassili Davidoff. Pestel and Touschnefski were elected presidents or directors; and, a little later, Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol was added to their number.

To the *douma* or directory of Toultchina two committees (*oupravy*) were subordinate; that of Kamenka or *right committee*, was presided over by Davidoff and Prince Sergius Volkonski, and that of Vassilkoff or *left committee* having Mouravieff-Apostol and Bestoujeff-Rumine at its head.

Since the revolutions of Spain, Naples, and Piedmont, the idea of a military insurrection had been daily gaining ground. In January, 1823, the leaders of the

* As we have said, he was brother-in-law to Prince Peter, Alexander's confidant. By his wife he was likewise brother-in-law to General Michael Orloff; both having General Raïefski for their father-in-law.

committees assembled at Kief, with the chiefs of the direction, that they might at length come to some resolution. Pestel had drawn up, under the name of *Russian Code* (Rousskaïa *Pravda*), a projected charter, partly copied from the constitution of the Cortés, but if anything, rather more republican. In this document the whole empire was parcelled out into a certain number of great provinces or states, forming together a confederation of republics. The transition from absolute monarchy to this new *régime* was to be effected by means of a provisional government, over which Pestel, as a matter of course, was to preside, with the joint assistance of some eminent prelate and some other personage of consequence favourable to his designs, which he hoped to secure. The first measure of this government (the "Report" takes good care to state it, in page 43) was to be the suppression of the secret societies, and the organization of an active *espionage*, exclusively confided to agents "commendable for their good sense and the purest morals." A few chapters of this *Russian Code* were read at the meeting, but there is room to believe that approbation was not bestowed upon those portions of it which we have just enumerated. Then another question arose: "When the new laws have been put in force, what is to be done with the imperial family?" An enemy to half-measures, Pestel did not hesitate to reply: "It must be exterminated." He consented at most to the transportation of the grand-dukes and duchesses, to be effected by the fleet of Kronstadt,

with which they had kept up a secret intelligence. All, however, were not of his opinion; Mouravieff-Apostol in particular protested against regicide, and though the majority sided with Pestel, it was agreed not to decide irrevocably in an assembly formed of only six individuals so vital a question as that of the fate of a dynasty.

Time, or Pestel's suggestions, soon dispelled the scruples of Vassilkoff, the president of the committee, and on the first opportunity that occurred of executing their projects he shewed himself ready for active measures. In 1823, the approach of the emperor was announced to the 9th division, mustered in a camp in the neighbourhood of Bobrouisk, a fortress on the Borosino, in the government of Minsk (Lithuania). The Saratoff regiment of infantry, commanded by Colonel Schveikofski, one of the conspirators, formed a part of it. Mouravieff-Apostol, in concert with Bestoujeff-Rumine, built great expectations upon this circumstance. By the help of a few officers of that regiment disguised as privates, he designed to seize the monarch, the Grand-Duke Nicholas, who accompanied him, and Diebitsch, the head of the general staff; next, to excite the troops, collected in the camp, to rebel; to leave a garrison in the fortress, which might serve him as a place of refuge in case of any reverse, and to march upon Moscow, carrying with him all the troops quartered along the road.

To effect a *coup-de-main* of such importance, it was necessary to have auxiliaries of every kind, but, among

the superior officers, besides Schveikofski, nobody but Lieutenant-Colonel Noroff could be relied upon; consequently, an appeal was made to the zeal of Colonel Davidoff. Pestel was asked for his advice, and Bestoujeff-Rumine even repaired to Moscow, to invoke the assistance of the conspirators, whom he supposed to be still in communication with each other, and to bring back a few young men willing to be his tools. No part of this plan succeeded. In the month of April in the following year (1824), Pestel himself concerted with the two friends a similar attempt, but without any better success. A false report had led them to expect that the Emperor Alexander would come, in the course of that year, to review the 3rd corps of the first army near the town of Belaïa-Tserkoff. The following plan was then determined between them. During the evening of the day on which the monarch should alight at the pavilion situated in the park of Alexandria, belonging to the Countess Branicka, and at the moment the guards were being relieved, officers, disguised as common soldiers, were to rush into his apartment and kill him. At the same instant, Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol and Colonels Schveikofski and Tiesenhausen, commanders, one of the regiment of Saratoff, the other of Pultava, were to cause the camp to revolt, and then to march upon Kief and Moscow, where their allies would assist them. From Moscow, Mouravieff was to have directed his course towards St. Petersburg, to act upon, and in conjunction with, the society of the north. Such are the assertions of the "Report;" but all this re-

mained a mere project, for the expected review did not take place.

We have just again mentioned a society of the *North*. The dissolution of the Union for the Public Welfare had not been considered as real in St. Petersburg any more than at Toultchina, or at Moscow;* but, as the members differed from Pestel in principles, and as they were more patient, and had less taste for extreme measures, they cared not to remain connected with him. Nicholas Tourgueneff and Alexander Mouravieff no longer belonged to the society, but it still met and enrolled new members. It was composed, among others, of Prince Eugene Obolenski, a man more impetuous and less subject to scruples than his predecessors, of whom we have just spoken; of Colonel Narischkin, commander of the Taroutino regiment of infantry, and of Semenoff, the titular counsellor; they soon had accessions from the imperial guard, and Mitkoff, colonel of the Finland regiment, especially, became one of their party.

As this guard quitted the capital shortly afterwards, the operations of the society were suspended; but it resumed its sittings in the year 1823. Its real chief then was Captain Nikita Mouravieff.

Whilst Pestel's *Russian Code* was the fundamental rule of the association of the *South*, Mouravieff drew up for that of the *North* another plan of a constitution,

* In the "Report" (p. 60) there are, moreover, secret societies mentioned as having existed in the Caucasus and at Kharkoff. The young Count Jacques Boulgari was named as being the president of the latter.

likewise discovered by the agents of the inquiry, and which was produced on the trial. This constitution, whilst it maintained a monarchical government, left the emperor a very limited authority, like that of the President of the United States, and likewise parcelled the empire into independent states, united by a bond of federation,—a dismemberment which seems certainly to have been opposed by every patriot proud of the attitude her colossal greatness allowed Russia to assume in Europe; but to which other members had consented, substantial civilization and efficient interior administration being, in their opinion, considerations of far greater importance.

The society was divided into two sections, that of *believers* (*obèjedennis*) or *superior section*, and that of *adherents* (*soïédinennii* or *soglasnii*) or *inferior section*. The members of the latter were simply adopted persons, admitted after a few preparatory proofs, to whom the objects of the association were gradually revealed. They were made acquainted neither with the means of attaining them, nor with the period of future action, nor indeed with any other member than the one by whom they were initiated. Nevertheless, through the mediation of the latter, who was a member of the superior section, they had themselves the right of initiating two candidates. The *adherents* might pass into the class of *believers*, if they had in their favour the suffrage of all the members present at St. Petersburg. It was the superior section that had the privilege of electing the members of the *directory*,

or council, charged with the government of the society, and with the control of the acts of this council.

The society of the North, though acting independently of that of the South, did not renounce its co-operation. Like the latter, it looked forward to the time when a military insurrection would realise its hopes. But, besides that they were differently constituted, they were distrustful of each other, on account of their respective leaders, between whom there existed very little sympathy. Communications between the societies were generally verbal and of rare occurrence; and when Pestel wrote to N. Mouravieff in 1823, "Half measures are good for nothing; we must get rid of rubbish:" it was not the way to make the connexion more intimate. Nevertheless, he made strenuous efforts to effect this object: Prince Volkonski, and Colonels Davidoff and Schveikofski came successively to propose on his part the union of the two societies, and being himself at St. Petersburg in 1824, he left nothing untried to conciliate the friendship of Ryleïeff, then one of the directors, but too great an admirer of Washington to allow a footing in Russia for a Napoleon, even supposing one should appear. Ryleïeff was not the only member prejudiced against the dictator of the South; notwithstanding the praises bestowed on him by Matthew Mouravieff-Apostol, the society of the North so far distrusted his restless and ambitious spirit, that it considered it expedient to watch his proceedings,—a task accepted by Prince Sergius Troubetzkoï on the occa-

sion of a journey to Kief, where he was to fulfil the duties of military governor, and make the influence he might derive from that employment serve the interests of the conspiracy.* On his return from abroad, about the end of 1823, he had been associated, together with Prince Obolenski, by the *believers* of St. Petersburg, with Nikita Mouravieff, till then the only chief of the society. But his departure for Kief had caused Ryleïeff to be received in the directory at the end of 1824, and from that moment the republican tendency gained the upper hand. Being a pupil of the American school, Ryleïeff had signalized his entrance into this council by a protest against directors holding their offices for life; in his opinion, they should have been re-elected every year.

Scarcely had Ryleïeff been received into the society, when he introduced his friend Alexander Bestoujeff; and, doubtless, the example of the latter operated upon his brothers and many young writers. The number of the conspirators increased every day: to the historical names we have already seen conspicuous in the list, such as Troubetzkoï, Obolenski, Odoïfski, Chtchépin-Rostofski, Narischkin (not to speak of the society of the South, in which we find Princes Volkonski, Bariatinski, Chakhofskoï, and others), must also be added those of Moussin Pouschkin and Galitsin. Prince Valerian, a gentleman of the chamber, represented

* He is said to have escorted to Paris, at the emperor's expense, a Princess Kourakin, afflicted with a mental malady.

this latter family, one of the most illustrious in Russia.*

Among the means of propagating their opinions, are mentioned seditious songs and other pieces of verse composed by Ryleïeff, who also undertook to complete the *catechism of the free man* commenced by N. Mouravieff. All this was printed clandestinely, with newspaper essays and proclamations, Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Lounin having established a lithographic press for the purpose.

We have said that in 1824, Pestel, then colonel of the Viatka regiment, came himself to St. Petersburg. Believing the time for action to be fast approaching, he, doubtless, wished to extend his relations and to contrive to obtain auxiliaries in the very seat of government. He therefore proposed to open conferences.

At a meeting at which Princes Troubetzkoï and Obolenski, Ryleïeff, Matthew Mouravieff-Apostol, and several other members were present,† Pestel, after complaining of the inaction of the society of the North, of its want of union and fixed principles, and of the difference that prevailed between its regulations

* See the notice about this family at the head of the reflections in the present volume.

† The "Report" (p. 65) also names among them M Nicholas Tourgueneff; but, perhaps, with no more correctness than later (p. 92), at a time when this patriot was certainly no longer in Russia. M. Tourgueneff desired a change in the form of the government; this is incontestable; but he does not appear to have relied much on the secret societies for attaining this end. He considered their proceedings a loss of time, and retired from them. If it was distrust, perhaps they paid him back in his own coin. As to the rest, his work will doubtless enlighten us on this point.

and those of the society of the South, adverted to the necessity of uniting the two societies, of having the same leaders, boïars, at St. Petersburg as at Toultchina, of causing every measure to be put to the vote by them and carried by the majority, and of providing that such decisions were afterwards obligatory upon all. The proposal was assented to, but as the first member of the directory of the North, Nikita Mouravieff, was not present at this sitting, Pestel repaired to his house in the hope of convincing him also. He again explained to him his plans to get rid of all the members of the imperial family, to force the holy synod and the senate to declare the secret society the provisional government of the empire *with unlimited powers.* This was ever the essential point in his mind, the rest being far less important. The provisional government, added Pestel, after having received the oaths of all Russia, distributed amongst the members of the society the administration, the command of the armies and their troops, and other public employments, might gradually and in the course of a few years introduce the new order of things.

N. Mouravieff as well as Ryleïeff distrusted the ambitious colonel; besides, their views did not coincide with his. They did not despair of the triumph of reform while they preserved the monarchy, which, however, previous to 1822, Mouravieff had himself held in slight regard. The plan of the latter was summed up in the following terms: to finish the plan of a constitution he was preparing, and to distribute manuscript copies of it

among all classes; to excite an insurrection in the army and then get this plan printed; the revolt gaining ground, to organize in every place occupied by the rebels the new authorities whose institution he proposed, and to change the tribunals; in case the imperial family, "if that, indeed, were possible," (Mouravieff was very young,) should not accept his constitution, to modify it and propose the establishment of a republican government. Mouravieff, it will be seen, ended, and then only in the event of extreme necessity, with what Pestel wished to begin, without any kind of hesitation. Accordingly, he convoked a new meeting that the question should be examined once more. At that meeting he maintained that a complete junction between the two societies was impossible, first, on account of the distance, and next, because of the difference of opinions. "Each enjoys his own opinion in the society of the North," said he, "in that of the South on the contrary, if I am well informed, nobody dares contradict Pestel; the majority of votes would be, therefore, only the expression of his single will." Pestel, added Mouravieff, did not tell, moreover, how many boïars he had in his society, and he reserved to himself the right which he however granted to the rival society, to create new ones. Now, he was resolved for his part never to be the blind tool of any majority whatever, whose decisions might be repugnant to his conscience: he would rather withdraw from the association. These words made a great impression; Pestel gave up the point, and it was agreed to leave things in their present

state till 1826, at which period delegates, furnished with full powers, were to be assembled to give the two societies the same leaders and the same principles.

From that moment an evident coolness was observed in Pestel : he no longer shewed any confidence in men who seemed to place so little in him, and, though he had promised to communicate his plan of a constitution, he never sent it, neither did he furnish any information respecting the laws or the composition of the society placed under his direction.

Meanwhile, that society was becoming impatient ; according to its own assertion everything was ripe for a revolution ;—as if such great crises could be suddenly created at the caprice of the passions of individuals, and were not the spontaneous produce of known, imperative, and universally felt necessities. The Vassilkoff committee especially, directed by Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol and Bestoujeff-Rumine, proceeded with feverish activity. It greatly increased the number of its initiations, says the "Report" (p. 69); it traced plans and decided upon the enterprises of its own leader, not without giving notice to the directory at Toultchina, but without waiting for its consent. It was the first to enter into correspondence with a Polish society, with which, and also with the society of the *United Sclavonians*, it opened a communication.

This was a new turn in the conspiracy, especially important to Poland, whose re-establishment in its integrity was still meditated by thousands of patriots, and where, in spite of the prohibitory act of the 18th

of December, 1821, the secret societies were in full activity. Those of Russia offered them their co-operation; and this alliance, negotiated by Pestel and Bestoujeff-Rumine, or in their name by agents, is curious enough to deserve to engage the reader's attention in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER III.

AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN SWORN ENEMIES.—THE STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN POLAND.

POLAND, bound to Russia by an indissoluble tie, is like a fire-ship attached to the side of a large vessel and obliged to sail in company with her: in spite of every effort, and notwithstanding a few partial explosions, the inflammable matter remains in the incendiary vessel, and the least accident, by setting it on fire, may occasion a terrible catastrophe. The danger might be removed by cutting away the ropes which fasten the two vessels together; but the fire-ship is a capture which the victors are unwilling to relinquish, a trophy of which they are proud, a weapon which they reserve to make use of whenever an opportunity occurs.

The reader has seen in the preceding volume, the old rivalry between the two principal Sclavonic nations, which are jealous of each other; separated by interests; incessantly disputing for the possession of vast domains, without any moral affinity whatever; though sprung from the same stock, very different in character; and lastly, influenced by totally dissimilar historical and religious traditions.

It was impossible to expect any good result from their union: the decline of one or the ruin of the other country must be the inevitable consequence.*

* See M. de Châteaubriand's remark, vol. i.

Politically speaking, Russia sufficed for her own support; she was independent of Europe, she was able to stand clear of the affairs of the west, which really little concerned her; for her essential interests lie in her own region, which, as we have said, contains a world to be elevated into historical value and importance. United to Poland, she became her guardian — her gaoler; she accepted a responsibility in the affairs of others, and the odium of acting a part which is no longer pardoned in our age of feebleness and philanthropy. "She must," says an anonymous author, "keep Poland imprisoned alive in the tomb, and place upon that tomb a hundred thousand men to prevent it from opening. She has been obliged to go forth, to overrun her neighbours, to intrude upon offended civilization, and to take her ground in an attitude to which are attached those ideas of fear and irritation which it was neither her intention nor to her interest to produce." Poland has prevented, and will long prevent, Russia from pursuing her true policy; she has forced her again into the rather paltry and antiquated conflict of European affairs, which offer to her a motive or a pretext for incessant interference. If we may be permitted to anticipate the sequel of these reflexions, we will assert here, that, as to the Emperor Nicholas, Poland has violently turned that monarch from the path that was naturally traced out for him and which he had begun to pursue, which was an entirely interior policy, involving the reformation of abuses, the endeavour to implant guardian institutions in the soil, and an anxiety to develop the abundant resources which it offers, or that would be found in the genius of a

nation, still uncultivated in every respect, but abundantly endowed. It is evidently the struggle between Russia and Poland that caused the adoption of the present system of centralization and uniformity, a system prematurely begun in a country whose law extends over twenty different races of people; nay, where eighty different languages bear witness to the juxtaposition of the most discordant elements. It is seeing the state of Poland that makes us understand why Russia is now renouncing that spirit of religious toleration imposed by Peter the Great, upon a population that till then had been fanatical, and even upon a clergy before so exclusive, and hostile to foreign innovations and creeds. Russia is driven to that renunciation now, that she may restore to the national faith its ancient confidence in itself, that she may give it more energy and expansion, that she may invite it to propagate its doctrine, to urge it on to its triumph, and to make an auxiliary of the temporal power in its deadly struggle with insubordinate subjects, belonging to a different church.

However, what was the congress of Vienna to have done with Poland, unwilling as it was, under any circumstances, to restore her independence, so desirable doubtless for many reasons, but difficult to effect, and against which, the three great powers of the north had bound themselves by treaty ?* Besides, was the congress

* Perhaps there was one way of parrying the difficulty arising from this state of things, and of re-establishing ancient Poland without compelling the three other powers to give up their part of the spoil. To offer an opinion on this subject is, doubtless, to come *post festum*, to do a thing for which there is no occasion; but the reader will pardon our giving a little more development to an opinion too rapidly sketched in

free to vote on that question? Was not the will of the Emperor Alexander heavy in the balance there; and did he not manifest energetically a resolution of appealing once more to arms rather than renounce his projects? Russia imperatively exacted the creation of a new kingdom of Poland in her favour: she has accordingly none to blame but herself for the cruel embarrassment which her conceded demand has inflicted upon herself.

Alexander, benevolent but capricious, soon felt a keen sense of the necessity of repairing, as far as possible, a great act of injustice, by restoring their native country to the Poles. He saw himself in perspective, the constitutional king of that old republic, and that character flattered his ambitious and enthusiastic nature; it appeared to him more noble than

an earlier portion of this work. This then is our opinion. The amalgamation of Poland with the three neighbouring powers was a thing impossible, and no one should have expected to see her three great divisions separated, without at the same time expecting to see a desire on their part to reunite. Accordingly, it was necessary to have endeavoured to re-unite them by a new tie that might have respected the Polish spirit of nationality which is ever so sensitive. The three great divisions, added to the republic of Cracow, might have formed a confederation of which that town, the ancient residence of the Piast kings, would have been the centre,—the seat of government. This government might have consisted of a kind of federative diet, in which each of the three powers should have had a representative; two others to be named by the municipal republic of Cracow. Thus, there would have been, in the council at least, two Poles to three foreigners, or representatives of foreign interests. Laws would have been made in common; a general and uniform direction would have been given to the affairs of the country; while each of the three powers would have remained mistress of her part of the territory, carrying on the administration, and charged with its defence. This idea is doubtless as Utopian as many others, and we see very plainly the objections that might be urged against it; but of several evils or inconveniences, ought one not to prefer the least?

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that of an autocrat reigning over dumb slaves in an immense wilderness.

But it was impossible to conceal that this was a dangerous part to play. "It was difficult to conceive," says the French anonymous writer, already quoted, "that, in the same empire, it would do, on arriving at a certain point, to pass from absolute power to constitutional liberty at a stride, that is to say, that one had only to take a single step to stand in a different century." The force of this observation did not escape the acuteness of statesmen, for, as early as 1814, Lord Castlereagh ventured to warn Alexander that the experiment he meditated, was likely "to excite in his own states a political ferment."*

Alexander turned a deaf ear to such observations, which indeed were dictated by interested motives: he was determined to try the experiment, and he persisted in his project.†

At first, everything went well. The Poles, intoxicated with the liberal professions communicated to them, happy to emerge once more into existence, and expecting from the future still more than the present bestowed on them, were not backward in praising the

* Lord Castlereagh, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry, made this remark in his correspondence with Alexander concerning Poland,—a correspondence recently made public, and the analysis of which will be seen in Note (8,) in the Appendix to this volume.

† A constitutional organisation of Poland was, in the emperor's opinion, the only means of pacification. He said it was greatly to the interest of Russia to put an end to the agitation of the Poles, and he expected this result from his charter of 1815. "If longer oppressed," said he in his letter to Lord Castlereagh, "they will one day react against foreign influence, and that reaction must necessarily endanger the tranquillity of Russia and the north."

chivalrous king who, by restoring them to the rank of nations, had become the master of their destiny. Their hearts once more expanded with hope, and the great peace-maker lulled all former animosity. Notwithstanding their old quarrels, and those antipathies envenomed by the remembrance of a spoliation unheard of in history, the Poles and the Russians made mutual demonstrations of friendship: they came to an understanding to live together in amity; they did not despair of continuing good friends; at all events, if they could not sympathise with, they thought at least they might endure each other. They expected to see ancient Poland sooner or later reconstructed; for Alexander had formally promised to annex to the former grand-duchy of Warsaw a few of the dismembered provinces, still however to be subject to his rule.* What could be more interesting to patriots; and was it not just to allow some concessions in return for such a prospect? Besides, the diet was to meet, and it did meet

* Independently of verbal promises, we read as follows in the 1st article of the final act of the congress of Vienna: "His imperial majesty reserves to himself the right of giving to this *state*, enjoying a distinct administration (though united to the empire of Russia), what interior extension he may think proper." Moreover, even such of the Polish provinces subject to Russia as were not incorporated with the kingdom, were to be maintained in their nationality. The same article in the final act stipulates in their favour as follows: "The Poles, the respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a representation and national institutions, regulated according to the mode of political existence that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge it useful and proper to grant." And in one of the readings of art. 3 of the treaty between Austria and Russia, dated May 3, 1815, ... "shall obtain institutions which assure the preservation of their nationality." As to the rest, the final act is dated the 9th of June, and is consequently posterior.

solemnly, in March, 1818. So they had, at length, a tribunal where the voice of the nation might be heard; where rights were placed under the safeguard of the senators and nuncios chosen among the most respectable persons: nobody could doubt but that these functionaries would remain faithful to the national traditions, though they might profit by the rude lessons of experience, so efficacious in putting men on their guard against that individual spirit of nationality which leads to anarchy.

The opening of the diet answered the expectations of the Poles. As the reader knows, the most assuasive language was heard from the throne on that occasion. The emperor was never weary of repeating that the existence of Poland was guaranteed not only by the fundamental law, but also by the inviolability of exterior engagements.*

There were, therefore, no gloomy forebodings dur-

* He had already written from Vienna to Count Ostrowski, the president of the senate: "It is with particular satisfaction," says he in his letter, "that I announce to you that the destiny of your country has just been definitively determined, *by the assent of all the powers united at the congress*," and yet those "exterior engagements" which, according to Alexander's speech, were to have been a guarantee, have been slighted by the act which suppresses the independence of Cracow, by the fiat of three of the contracting powers only, and without the co-operation, nay in defiance of the other powers that signed the treaty. Prince Metternich, in his despatch of the 4th of January, 1847, maintains the right of the three northern courts in this particular; but his memory was defective, for here is what he had himself written in a former despatch of the 9th of February, 1818: "The final act of the congress of Vienna is undoubtedly the fundamental law of the present political system of Europe, since it has been sanctioned by the assent of all the states of which that system is composed. For this reason, the arrangements and principles which are set down in this act, whether they regard any European state directly or indirectly, have become obligatory upon all."

ing the first years of the annexation of Poland to the powerful empire of the czars. But, before long, people began to perceive that the hopes in which they had indulged were fallacious.

Alexander had to consult the susceptibility of his own people, ill-disposed towards the Poles, and little satisfied at seeing rights granted to them which they did not themselves enjoy. An agitation of no slight description was, moreover, observable in Germany and other countries, which was said to have been occasioned by the secret machinations of demagogues. The sovereigns, heedful to preserve their power intact, were alarmed by it; they communicated their uneasiness to their too easy ally, combated his liberal tendencies, and succeeded in persuading him to enter into their views. After the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, Alexander's language was no longer the same: fear had usurped the place of confidence, promises were forgotten, and the execution of his former projects was indefinitely postponed. The Poles now perceived that they could no longer rely on Alexander. The uniting into one nation provinces which Russia had acquired by virtue of the new partition, and the kingdom with which she had recently aggrandized herself, became more and more problematical; the autocrat assented to the oppressive mode of government established by the Grand-Duke Constantine; the liberties granted by the constitution were found to be all compromised, and,—the illusion dispelled,—there remained nothing for the Poles but the memory of their past grandeur, aggravated by the painful sense of their present abasement. Accordingly, feelings of animosity

revived in all their force, and a new struggle was brewing.*

It would, however, be unjust not to allow that, till 1830, Russia did much for the material prosperity of the little kingdom annexed to it; and, even in a moral point of view, there was at that period a perceptible progress, owing to the establishment of a great number of popular schools, and to the influence which social advancement ever exercises over the intellectual development of man.

But when the national sentiment is aroused to jealousy these benefits are not reckoned; they are regarded as a bait, intended to enervate us and to lull our vigilance.

Complaints arose in every direction. The Russian government re-established the censorship, suppressed freemasonry and every association, recalled the youths from the foreign universities, where they were completing their studies, established a *surveillance* over those at home, waged war on many occasions against the political theories (in its opinion subversive of order) in which they indulged, and at length (February

* Our business in this work can only be with the earliest scenes to which it gave birth: the struggle itself will be related in another publication. Though terminated apparently by the siege and capture of Warsaw in 1831, it nevertheless was followed by a train of commotions, and, after an interval of fifteen years, brought about the suppression of the free town of Cracow (at the convention of Vienna, November 6th, 1846), the last remnant of the ancient aristocratic republic, where the ashes of the Piasts had, till then at least, remained in the Polish soil. At the present day, a frightful desolation reigns throughout the different divisions of Poland, especially in Galicia, as will be seen from the details related in Note (9,) at the end of this volume.

13th, 1825,) went so far as to abolish the publication of the debates at the Diet.

This violent measure was intended to stifle the outcry of an opposition which of course arose in the chamber of nuncios. This opposition displayed itself as early as the session of 1820, and the election of the brothers Niemojowski as members of the provincial council of Kalitz, was a very significant symptom of the public discontent. But an open war against Russia had then few chances of success: people had scarcely emerged from one protracted crisis, and were little disposed to recommence another. The patriots perceived this: they resolved to bide their time, and to prepare in silence a future insurrection. Thus Poland has her carbonarism, like Italy.

Perhaps even that country had a certain share in the establishment of secret societies in Russia, where hitherto they had been unknown and useless, at least where in earlier times the most anarchical doctrines had been uttered publicly with the most perfect security. Dombrowski, the illustrious leader of the Polish legions, is said to have been the first to suggest to his fellow-countrymen the idea of providing for their enfranchisement, by associations in which they would learn to know and to rely on each other, and where they might organize beforehand an authority which, when the time came, might undertake the direction of affairs. Dombrowski had passed several years in the Italian peninsula with the wreck of the Polish army in the pay of France, which he had commanded. Even on his death-bed (in 1818) his mind was still busied with the salvation of his country. "Why can I not," said he, "reanimate the

former energy of the Poles! That they may be strong and powerful as their forefathers they lack nothing but confidence in their own strength. Let them go and demand back their country of those who have robbed them of it," &c. These words, engraven in the memory of the numerous friends present at the scene, were regarded as a kind of political testament, for the fulfilment of which several of the old companions in arms of the dying hero, for instance, General Uminski, and other Polish patriots, considered their faith engaged. It was repeated to the youths in the universities, and they were fired by it; and, as early as 1820, there were associations at Wilna, where Professor Lelewel rekindled and sustained the national spirit. The avowed aim of the patriots was a devotion to scientific studies, but, notwithstanding the indulgence of the Governor-General Krymski-Korsakoff, so well known for his defeat at Zurich,* several prosecutions took place. Thomas Zan, a student, founded a new society, termed Friends of Virtue, and among his colleagues a youth, Adam Mickiewicz, was observable, who has since become a celebrated poet. The Russian authorities caused this society to be dissolved, and its leaders to be brought to trial. The preliminary inquiry did not furnish any sufficent charges against them; but a second having been intrusted to the care of Novociltsoff, an old friend of Alexander, he succeeded, in 1823, in bringing a few in guilty. Zan nobly and generously took upon himself the full responsibility of all that was laid to their charge; and he expiated his transgressions, which doubtless were not very serious, by an exile to Siberia.

* He died in 1826.

As early as 1821, freemasonry, as we have said, had been prohibited as well in Russia as in Poland. But General Uminiski founded almost immediately, in the grand-duchy of Posen,* an association called *the reapers* (*Kossiniery,*) which extended to every part of the ancient republic. Other members of the masonic order assembled secretly at Warsaw, and formed there an institution (called *a vendita*) at which they unreservedly debated the interests of the country, notwithstanding the active *espionage* of the government. Such was the origin of the *Patriotic Society*, for that was the name they soon adopted. One of their leaders was Major Valerian Lukasinski, a resolute man, who had fought in all the campaigns of the Polish legions from 1806 to 1814. His tragic end was spoken of throughout Europe. The Russian police having discovered the existence of this secret society, and being, in addition, informed of everything relating to it, by a treacherous member, who, having been accused of bigamy, wished to purchase his pardon by this act of villany, they communicated all they had learned to Constantine, who caused the major to be arrested at one of the meetings of the society; and Machnicki, Dobrogoyski, Dobrzycki, Szreder the advocate, Koszutski, besides several other patriots fell with him under the tender mercies of the grand-duke. He immediately instituted a rigorous inquiry. If we are to believe Polish reports, he employed every kind of torture to extort confessions from his chief prisoner. Pent up in a cell eight feet square, without either air or light,

* This is the official German name of this fraction of Poland; the national name is Poznan or Poznania.

Lukasinski is said to have been confined in the strictest solitude, sequestered from the world : permission to see him was refused to his nearest relations. They even made him suffer the gnawing pangs of hunger to overcome his obstinacy. The prisoner did not deny having belonged to a secret society, but he represented himself as the only person guilty ; stating, moreover, that the society was not in existence after the day when the ukase proclaiming the dissolution of secret societies was promulgated. Being brought before a council of war with five of his friends, he was condemned to the loss of his rank and to nine years' hard labour. The former part of this sentence, commuted to seven years by the Emperor Alexander, was executed at Warsaw in presence of the troops and a vast concourse of people, on the 1st of October, 1824. The chain which bound Lukasinski to the barrow of a galley-slave was riveted on his body, and he was sent in this manner to the fortress of Zamosc where he was to undergo his punishment. Firm and constant to the last, he conspired anew with his companions in misery. Notwithstanding the suppression of the revolution in Italy and in Spain, the state of Europe seemed to him so favourable to his projects, that he believed a signal alone would suffice to effect an insurrection in Poland. This signal was to have been the surprise and capture of Zamosc. But the plot was betrayed, and Lukasinski was brought once more before a court-martial. He was condemned to death ; a sentence which Constantine commuted into perpetual imprisonment, his motive being, as it is asserted, that he still hoped to extort from him all his secrets. Accordingly, he

underwent a further and a strict examination, and, report adds, he was lashed with the knout to overcome his obstinate reserve. The agonized Lukasinski at length made a partial confession, which he afterwards disavowed when he was summoned before the tribunal before which the conspiracy of 1825 was undergoing examination. Exposing to his merciless judges his bleeding body, he is said to have called upon them to declare whether confessions obtained by such torture ought to be held valid in the eyes of justice. After that scene nobody knows what became of the unfortunate man; for, from the night of the 29th of November, 1830, he was sought for in vain in every dungeon in Warsaw. But some peasants of the country through which the cæsarovitch, surrounded by his guards, effected his retreat, asserted that they had seen, chained to a cannon and running behind it, a man who was manacled on the hands and feet. People have concluded that that man, thus ignobly dragged along by Constantine, was the unfortunate Lukasinski.

However this may be (for we can affirm nothing for certain on this subject), the imprisonment of the founders of the patriotic society did not occasion its complete dissolution; but prudence dictated to its members to suspend its meetings for a time, and to keep apart as much as possible.

The whole of ancient Poland was comprised in the sphere of action of the society; for, faithful to a policy, in our opinion, injurious to their cause, the Poles have ever been unwilling to renounce any part of their ancient territory, or to act otherwise than in common with all their fellow countrymen, without

respect to the government whose subjects they have become. Accordingly, independently of the kingdom of Poland, the society extended to the free town of Cracow, to the grand-duchy of Posen, to Galicia, Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, and even to Kief,* a province whose chief town is one of the ancient Russian capitals, one of the principal sanctuaries of the *orthodox* people; the whole population, excepting the nobility and the Jews, still belonging to the communion of the Church of the East, and speaking the language of their forefathers. The case is similar in Volhynia, a country essentially Russian, though shared among Polish nobles, ardent and patriotic like those of Podolia.

In each of the three last mentioned provinces the society had a local committee or council; these councils, sometimes formed into one, having its president at Kief, would take up its quarters in the three chief towns, according as necessity or circumstances directed. Among the principal members, quoted in the "Report of the Committee of Inquiry at Warsaw to the Cæsarevitch Constantine,"† we meet with historical names; for instance, Tarnowski, derived from Tarnow, in Galicia, a town only too unhappily notorious as being the place where the massacre of the nobles of the district in 1845 occurred. These conferences usually took place at the fairs of Balta in Podolia, and of Berditcheff in Volhynia, or at the statutes of Kief, which are annual fairs to which the country proprietors

* According to the Russian pronunciation. The Poles pronounce and write it *Küow*.

† See the "Journal de Saint Petersbourg," 1827, No. 73, pp. 297-312.

repair in the month of January, for the settlement of their affairs. At Kief, a certain Grodecki had been since the year 1824, charged with watching the interests of the Patriotic Society, only a few leagues' distance from Pestel, but the latter altogether unaware of it, was occupied with similar designs. Bestoujeff-Rumine made this discovery. Although the Polish society was not formed on the same principles and had not the same interests as the Russian society, they might, nevertheless, render assistance to each other. Had the Poles been ready to act, a formidable military revolt, discovering itself not only in the south of Russia, but in the very seat of government, would have formed a very serviceable diversion; to the Russian conspirators, it would not have been less advantageous, to see the Polish and Lithuanian armies, and the cæsarovitch himself, contending against a national insurrection in Poland, at the very moment they were marching against Moscow and St. Petersburg; and they would not have hesitated to purchase this assistance even at the sacrifice of a conquest dear to Russian pride. Neither party had been blind to these considerations.

At that period, the Patriotic Society of Warsaw had just been paralysed by the capture of its chiefs. Dispersing for a time, the members who had escaped arrest sent instructions to the committee of Volhynia to discontinue for the present the enrolment of new members. But, after this solitary clap of thunder, the storm subsided; the government were evidently not acquainted with much; they had only laid hands on a few scattered portions of the plot, and the rest had escaped observation.

The firm Lukasinski withstood the tortures employed to extort his confession, and some of his fellow-prisoners were acquitted for want of evidence against them. The emperor Alexander granted an amnesty to the other members of the Patriotic Society. They therefore took courage, and quitting their hiding-places, where they had remained shut up, they began gradually to assemble, and at length re-established their former connexion. A centre of action was now in full operation: it was composed of Severin Krzyzanowski, a lieutenant-colonel in active service, of Prince Antony Jablonowski, of Grzymala, the master of requests, and of the secretary Plichta. To these was added, shortly afterwards a still more important person, Count Stanislaus Soltyk, a venerable gentleman respected by every body, and whose illustrious name shone yet more from the remembrance of public services extending over half a century. He was the son of a castellan of Warsaw, and nephew to Gaëtan Soltyk, the celebrated bishop of Cracow, who, animated by an hereditary hatred to the Russians, and by a religious fanaticism to which this sentiment, doubtless, was not foreign, resisted the imperious will of Prince Repnine in the affair of the Dissenters, supported with ardour the cause of Polish independence, and became the victim of a bold attempt to secure it in 1767. It is well known that Repnine, whose pride was hurt, seized on the person of the courageous bishop, as well as on those of several other patriots, and sent them off from Warsaw during the night, to be transported into the interior of Russia.* His nephew,

* John Krasinski, bishop of Kameniec (Kamenietz), succeeded, as is well known, in escaping arrest, which was intended for him also.

Stanislaus, remained true to the traditions of his family and to the cause of his native land. He took an important part in the adoption of the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, which was intended to save the country by preserving it from the incurable evil of anarchy. Unfortunately, Catherine II., furious at the loss of Poland, would not permit this course; the violence of the Russians brought about a second and a third partition, and at length the unhappy country disappeared from the map of Europe. At the time of its partial restoration, under the auspices of Napoleon, in 1807, Soltyk quitted his retirement in which he had cultivated literature and the arts, and having been elected nuncio, he was appointed in 1811, marshal of the diet. After the creation of the little kingdom which the congress of Vienna set up in the place of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, Soltyk, like many others, at first put confidence in Alexander's promises, but seeing none performed, nay more, seeing the rights consecrated by the constitution openly violated, he once more indulged his former feelings of hatred towards the Russians. He was then more than seventy years old, having been born in 1751. Notwithstanding this advanced age, he still preserved all the ardour of his patriotism: about the year 1824, he entered the secret societies, and is said even to have endeavoured to lure into them Prince Czartoryiski,* who, however, withstood the veteran's suggestions.

One may easily imagine with what pride the Patriotic Society received such a man among its members: few names were more revered than that of Stanislaus Soltyk,

* The same to whom we devoted Note (7) in vol. i.

but moreover, having been again elected nuncio in 1825, he had been raised in that year to the dignity of castellan senator. The society hastened to acknowledge him for its chief;* but the most active members were his two colleagues, Prince Jablonowski and Lieutenant-Colonel Krzyzanowski.

It was through the latter that the society of Warsaw was brought in contact with the committee of Vassilkoff,—a contact that was fatal to it, without imparting any real strength to the Russian conspiracy.

Prince Jablonowski and Count Victor Ossolinski, whom business called occasionally to the fair of Kief and into Volhynia, had, in 1823, noticed among the officers of the regiments stationed there, symptoms of a discontent which they did not attempt to dissemble even in public. Having, also, collected the vague reports in circulation respecting the existence of a secret society which aimed at overthrowing the form of the government of the empire by a revolution, they brought them to Warsaw, where these reports soon excited general attention. It was resolved that an inquiry should be instituted.

On the other hand, Bestoujeff-Rumine had, in the same year, discovered the Polish secret society; and

* Married to the Princess Coroline Sapieha, Stanislaus had a son by her worthy of himself, General Count Roman Soltyk, an enlightened patriot, who took share in every campaign in which his countrymen fought, was not a stranger, it is said, to the conspiracy of 1825, and performed also an important part during the insurrection of 1830. At that period, he was nuncio of the diet and commander of the artillery at Warsaw. He afterwards took refuge in France, where he published a "Précis Historique et Politique de la Révolution du 29th Novembre" (2 vols. 8vo), as well as two other works; and died at Saint Germain en Laye, on the 24th of October, 1843.

from that moment neither he nor Mouravieff Apostol could rest till they had formed a connection with it. Count Alexander Chodkiewicz (another name illustrious in the Polish annals) was their mediating agent, but it was not till 1824 that they contrived to meet together in a conference with Colonel Krzyzanowski.

Here we must set down an important observation. From the very outset, a striking contrast is observable between the two kinds of conspirators, partly natives of the same provinces (Kief, Volhynia, Podolia), and yet representatives of two different nationalities. Among the Russians, there was more impetuosity and violence, and less respect for truth, national traditions, and human life; whilst, among the Poles,—in whose ranks, moreover, figure more illustrious names,—there was a total absence of that thirst for blood which we shudder to observe in Pestel and his friends,—more patience and moderation, a certain self-possession in factious debates, a complete harmony with national tendencies, and in this particular also, great sincerity towards the Russians. In the very first interview with Vassilkoff's two friends, Krzyzanowski declared to them that he was not by any means authorized to make any definite arrangements with them; that he had no other view than to establish between the two societies (and he shewed great discretion respecting that of Warsaw) a communication that might enable them to come to an understanding. Next, he replied with perfect frankness to the overtures made by Mouravieff-Apostol. The latter shewed himself extremely liberal; according to him, the necessity had arisen, and the time was come to get rid of that national animosity, the offspring of barbarous

times, and an anachronism in an enlightened age, when the interest of all nations is identical. Consequently, added he, the Russian society offers Poland her ancient independence, and is ready to make use of every means in its power to put an end to those unhappy animosities which still separate the two nations. Krzyzanowski declared that, for his part, he was, *perhaps*, equally with the Russian delegates, above such a feeling; but that, owing to circumstances, prejudices were so deeply rooted and so general among the Poles, that it would be a difficult task to persuade them to enter into an alliance with Russians, "and infinitely more difficult still to inspire them with confidence."

Thus, no intimacy was as yet possible. Nevertheless, every question was discussed. The Pole inquired in the first place, in what space of time the Russian conspirators would be ready to act; but no satisfactory answer could be returned, no definite decision having been made on this subject. On the question whether Poland was to receive her ancient limits with respect to Russia, which would have implied the concession of all the grand principality of Lithuania, besides several half Russian, half Polish provinces, and perhaps even that of Kief, should they trace further back than the old partition of 1772; on this second question, I say, they were not able to give any more positive assurance: this matter, they said, could only be regulated afterwards, as the opinions of the Russian society were divided on that point, and a party existed among them which advocated the integrity of the empire in its present boundaries.* The Russian delegates entered

* Indeed, the members of the association of the north reproached

into more precise explanations as to the form of government which it might be expedient to adopt. Their model was the federal constitution of the United States; they were resolved to introduce an analogous organization into their own country, and they would wish the Poles to imitate their example. But Krzyzanowski remained extremely reserved; besides that he had no express authority from his society to discuss matters with them, he observed he had no idea of the opinion of his party on this point, which, up to that time, had never been the subject of debate. He even ventured to say that he considered the Russian delegates maintained their own opinions with too much warmth, an observation which occasioned the following reply from Bestoujeff-Rumine: "Without enthusiasm no one can do anything great!"

As to the rest, one of the conditions of the amicable arrangement, and which Bestoujeff, as well as Mouravieff, considered of primary importance, was, that the Poles should do all in their power to prevent the cæsarovitch from returning to Russia to organize a counter-revolution. On this point they were not far from coming to an understanding. "If the authorities of the society," replied the Polish negotiator, "put into the form of a treaty what shall have been discussed among ourselves, it is certain that it will do all in its power to give you satisfaction on this fundamental point, provided you do not demand the death of the

Pestel for the facility with which he sacrificed provinces annexed to the empire. "How could it be helped?" replied he, in concert with Davidoff, "the promise was already made, and such was the will of the society of the south." "Report," p. 50; see also *ante*.

grand-duke." In reply to the question, whether the society of Warsaw would prevent the Lithuanian body of troops from forming an obstacle to the enterprises of the Russian conspirators, he promised, but ever with the same reserve, that the society would undertake to disarm that corps, or to reduce it to a state of inaction in some other manner, should it declare in favour of the grand-duke.

All this, in reality, was nothing more than a vague parley, devoid of an official character; however, two persons, Antony Czarkowski and Grodecki, were chosen to continue the communications between the members of the two associations which had made the preliminary overtures. If Bestoujeff-Rumine drew up the articles debated with Krzyzanowski, under the title of *Convention*, it was without the knowledge of the latter and without any signature ratifying the act. Nay, a considerable space of time elapsed before the least intelligence was received at Vassilkoff or at Kief, either of the Patriotic Society of Warsaw, or of the light in which the overtures had been considered in it: accordingly, the impatience of Mouravieff-Apostol and Bestoujeff-Rumine knew no bounds. The former was induced by his impatience to write a letter to the society, which he wanted Prince Sergius Volkonski to forward for him to Grodecki. But the prince refused to be a party to such an act of imprudence, and reminded him that every kind of communication in writing was prohibited. By way of retaliation, he contrived a personal interview between Grodecki and Pestel, and by these means the dictator was, at the fairs or *statutes* of 1825, brought into communication

with Prince Jablonowski, who had come this time, it would seem, with positive instructions from the Patriotic Society, whilst Krzyzanowski, who had likewise returned to Kief, where his father had just died, abstained from any further communication with the Russian party.

Prince Jablonowski was not brought to judgment like his colleague ;* nevertheless, the conference which Pestel, accompanied by Prince Sergius Volkonski, had with him, appears to have been really important and to have been attended with positive results.

Let us give an account of what passed between the two negotiators. Prince Volkonski, accustomed to remain dumb in presence of the chief whose words he considered as so many oracles, was a silent witness of the scene.

The dictator of the South was the first to open the debate. He sketched an eloquent description of the state of things in his native land, of the task undertaken by the secret society in whose name he was speaking, and of the resources, immense in his estimation, which it had at its disposal. Like all the country, said he, the army is ready to cast off the yoke of despotism. The German provinces, resolved to remain united with the empire, will follow the impulse emanating from provinces inhabited by Russians of true blood.

* At least not by the high court of Warsaw, nor by that of St. Petersburg. But those judgments were not the only ones pronounced in the business of the secret societies. Like Baron Solovieff and his associates, Captain Maïeweski, the founder of the *Templars*, of whom we shall soon have to speak, was brought before a private commission which pronounced three sentences of death, and several others of a lesser penalty.

As to Poland, she was formerly a distinct nation; she has her own private views, which it is essential to know, in order to act in concert; for it is impossible not to rely on her co-operation. "There is no middle course," continued he, "you must be with us or against us. We may conquer your freedom for you without your assistance; but if you lose the opportunity which is now offered to you, you must forego all hope of ever recovering your existence as a nation." Thereupon he requested to be made acquainted with the intentions of the Poles, especially with respect to the form of government they intended to adopt for their country, when once restored to her independence.

Prince Jablonowski replied to this without any embarrassment. The exclusive aim of the Patriotic Society, in the name of which he was speaking, he said, was to recover that very independence, with the limits which Poland had possessed before the second partition;* before explaining further, therefore, he wanted to know whether the Russian society would subscribe to this equally just and moderate requisition. Pestel replied that there could not be any difficulty in the case; and even supposing a doubt should arise on the subject, the free populations should have the liberty of deciding to which of the two nations, Russia or Poland, they preferred to remain united. Then the prince passed on to the form of government, the question being again brought forward by Pestel. No resolution had been

* A pretension more moderate than most of these since brought forward, and which excluded the claiming of White Russia and Polish Livonia, but which still extended to Lithuania, acquired by Russia at the time of the second partition, in 1793. See, for the effects of those partitions, "La Russie, la Pologne, et la Finlande," p. 521 *et seq.*

come to on that head : the Polish society believing the day when there would be a possibility of acting, to be still remote, had been in no hurry to debate that question. As to his own individual opinion, he thought that a constitutional monarchical government was the best adapted to his country. Pestel was not of that opinion : he maintained with warmth, the advantages of a republican government, such as is in operation in the United States. But a discussion of this nature was not likely to be of any utility. The Pole did not admit that the Russians could have any idea of interfering in the interior government of his country ; if they had the intention of governing it altogether, said he, it would be as well to remain submissive to a single master common to both nations. Pestel did not insist, but passed on to an article more essential in his point of view. " What," he asked, " will the Poles do with the Grand-Duke Constantine, when a revolution has broken out in Russia ?" The answer he desired was : " He shall be treated in the same manner as all the grand-dukes in Russia." But Jablonowski did not take upon himself to make such an answer : " the intentions of the Patriotic Society did not yet extend to acts of violence of that kind, and as for assassination, it spurned the idea. " No Pole," Krzyzanowski declared, " has ever imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereigns !" The prince pledged himself on only one point, which was, that no promises or concessions, made by the cæsarovitch to his nation, at the moment of the revolution, should have the power of arresting its course. This was not enough to satisfy Pestel, but still it was better than nothing ; for, in his

opinion, the Poles might, in the event of concessions, conceive the idea of raising the grand-duke to the throne of the empire, in order to obtain from him afterwards, the independence of their own country, or even to elect him king of Poland on the basis of the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, to which the real patriots among the Poles were still attached. Constantine's well known partiality for his adopted country seemed to authorize such a suspicion.

Pestel's expectations were therefore, for the most part, disappointed. However, Jablonowski agreed with him that it would be useful to propagate the society in the detached corps of Lithuania, composed equally of Poles and Russians. In order not to run the risk of mutually counteracting the measures that might be taken for this purpose on either side, it was resolved that Count Moszynski* and Colonel Povalo-Schveikofski should settle between themselves the manner in which the propagation of the society should be effected in that corps. It was likewise determined that no Russian should be received into the Polish society, nor any Pole into the Russian. The necessity of continual communications between the two societies was also acknowledged; and as the method of negotiating by Kief was subject to the inconvenience of delay, Jablonowski demanded that a member of the Russian society, resident at Warsaw, should be furnished by it with full instructions to treat with the Patriotic Society. Pestel consented to this, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mi-

* In 1846, the name of Peter Moszynski reappeared in a very honourable manner, as member of a committee of provisional government, in the events of Cracow.

chael Lounine was to receive the necessary powers for this purpose. This name, and those of Volkonski and Schveikofski, were the only ones he mentioned at the conference; for he would not satisfy their desire of being made acquainted with the names of the persons at the head of the Russian association. Having also demanded of Prince Jablonowski that the Patriotic Society should make no attempt till he and his friends had begun the revolution and given notice of it, he received the following answer: The Polish society did not anticipate the possibility of effecting its purpose in so short a time, the less so that the present situation of Europe seemed to be an obstacle to it; it had therefore rested content with preparing every thing for the moment when they should desire to act, and by keeping alive the national spirit in every part of ancient Poland. Now, the political revolution which would soon burst forth in Russia was an opportunity more favourable than any other; it would be absurd not to wait for it, and not to seize such an opportunity. The interest of the Patriotic Society was assuredly the best guarantee that it could give to the Russian society, of the sincerity of its co-operation. Lastly, before the conference ended they agreed to meet again at the fairs of 1826, and Prince Jablonowski pledged his word that, in case he should be personally prevented from being present at that rendezvous, one of his colleagues of the society should come in his place.

Towards the end of 1825 another secret society of which Volhynia was the principal seat, was united to the Patriotic Society of Warsaw: we mean that of the *Templars*, formed in 1820 by one Maïewski, a captain

in the Prince of Orange's regiment of Hulans. Notwithstanding the pompous titles which its principal members bestowed upon themselves,* it had but a very limited influence and insignificant resources: accordingly, no sooner was Maïewski informed of the existence of secret societies in the heart of the Russian army, and of the conferences between them and the society of Warsaw, than he studied how he might best get for himself, by means of an amalgamation of his own society with the other, that importance he lacked, but of which he was covetous. He was fearful he should remain a stranger to events, if he continued confined to his own sphere. He therefore joined the Patriotic Society, and, though the union of the Templars with it met with a few unforeseen difficulties, yet it was at length effected.

Such was the connection which Pestel, for the prosecution of his enterprise, succeeded in establishing with Poland. He neglected nothing that might be useful to his cause, but he obtained no important result. In that respect, all he received was vague promises: nothing was yet ready; according to the most favourable supposition, no efficacious co-operation could be expected for several years. What a disappointment for the impatient Pestel! Happily, auxiliaries, less slow and cautious, presented themselves on the side of the Russians, and in the midst of that

* Maïewski assumed the title of grand-master; the following were conferred by election: that of assistant to the grand-master, to Stanislaus Karwicki; that of grand orator, to a superior officer named Lagowski; that of grand-lieutenant, to Casimir Pulawski; that of grand-judge, to Ciszewski; that of grand-marshal of the camp, to Zagorski; that of grand-secretary, to Karpinski.

Society of United Sclavons with which we have said that the committee of Vassilkoff, indefatigable in its researches, was also the first to form a connexion. This second alliance, doubtless less imposing than the first, but of more immediate and real utility, deserves also one moment's attention.

The society of the United Sclavons, founded in Volhynia in the year 1823, by two brothers named Borissoff, subalterns of artillery, and a Polish nobleman named Lublinski, aimed, says the Russian "Report,"* at uniting by a federative bond and by the community of a republican government, but without prejudice to their respective independence, eight Sclavonic countries whose names were engraven on an octagon seal, namely: Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary with Transylvania,† and Servia with Moldavia and Wallachia.‡ As we perceive, it was the first essay of that *pansclavonism* since then so much extolled, and interpreted, in a thousand different ways, now in a Russian sense, then again in one entirely opposite, long advocated even by a public professor in France, and on which we have already given our opinion; an interesting dream, but without any possible application, though it did, for a moment, alarm the Austrian cabinet.§ In the mind of Sub-lieutenant Borissoff's

* "Report of the Commission of Inquiry," p. 70.

† Which are only partially Sclavonic.

‡ The population of these last two principalities, vassals of Turkey, has nothing in common with the Sclavons; it is, as is well known, of Roman or Romaic origin.

§ But for this transitory alarm, the Grand Duchess Ogla Nikolaïevna would probably have become, in 1843, the wife of the Archduke Stephen, the son of the last Palatine of Hungary, to whom would have been entrusted the administration of Bohemia.

brother, *pansclavonism* was perhaps no reality; at all events, he easily sacrificed it when, after two years' existence, the association of which he was the author was discovered by Bestoujeff-Rumine, ever upon the watch for news, and ever eager for change. The latter hastened to point out to him that the duty of a Russian was to think of reforming Russia before he troubled his mind about any other nation, though sprung from the same stock. This association of United Sclavons was at the time composed of thirty-six members,* mostly young artillery officers, but some occupying the same position in the infantry regiments of the third corps, more particularly infected, as we have seen, with the spirit of sedition.

During the summer of 1825 this corps occupied a camp near the town of Leschtchin, in the district of Jitomir in Volhynia. There those officers had an opportunity of seeing every day, not only Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol and Bestoujeff-Rumine, but many other members of the society of the south, especially colonels Schveikofski, Tiesenhausen, Artamon Mouravieff, Vronitzki, and Major Spiridoff. The latter had not much trouble in persuading Borissoff to make common cause with them. Bestoujeff-Rumine was charged to effect the union: he addressed the United Sclavons "in the name of his numerous and powerful

* Of this number, twenty-three figure on the list of the accused brought before the high criminal court; four or five others were tried and condemned apart, (not to mention Kouzmin, who blew his brains out), making a total of twenty-seven or twenty-eight out of thirty-six. This proportion, very different from that which relates either to the society of the north, or to that of the south, proves that the government attached extreme importance to this branch of the conspiracy.

society which had extended its ramifications throughout the empire; in the name of its supreme government, which an impenetrable mystery concealed even from the eyes of a majority of its members," and soon they all placed themselves under the authority of the committee of Vassilkoff. In the ceremony of their initiation, they took an oath and kissed an image which Bestoujeff took from around his neck. He divided them into sections, whose chiefs were named *intermediaries*, because they were to form, together with the two brothers Borissoff, the connecting link between the committee and the society of the United Sclavons. He likewise stimulated their zeal, inflamed their imaginations, and so agitated their minds by his furious speeches, that he converted them into real assassins, ready to poniard whomever might be singled out for their victim. Speaking of the treatment reserved for the imperial family, "We must cast their ashes to the wind," cried Bestoujeff. The new members were assured that the explosion must shortly take place; and they were advised to hold themselves in readiness, and to gain over the greatest possible number of the soldiers.

However, at the very time of these interviews with the Sclavons, an event happened which proved to the conspirators that the government, which had long been warned by Sherwood's disclosures, was beginning to distrust them. This event was the disgrace of Colonel Schveikofski, one of their number, who was deprived of the command of the Saratoff regiment. This event fell upon them like a thunderbolt. "Schveikofski," says the Report, "was in despair; and so were his

accomplices, as much from concern on his account as because they saw the means at once annihilated of securing the co-operation of the regiment of which he was the chief." Besides, this measure taken by the government might perhaps be a prelude to others of the same kind; all the regiments of which they believed themselves to be nearly sure, such as the Poltava, Kasan, Penza, Taroutino, Viatka, Ukraine, Mohileff, Vitebsk, the hussars of Akhtyr, &c., might thus be effectually withdrawn from their influence. Such was the ferment of the conspirators at first, that they resolved to raise a revolt immediately in the third corps (the eighth and ninth divisions of infantry, the third division of hussars and the artillery of these divisions),* and to March on Kief, after having, of course, solicited the advice and assistance of Pestel; next, to send assassins to Taganrog, in order to plunge the empire into anarchy by the murder of Alexander, and to take advantage of the diversion in their favour which must then ensue. Artamon Mouravieff, the colonel in the guards, a personage of a very bulky body and of a levity of character unfavourable to the proper discharge of the functions of a conspirator,—a man moreover whom the benevolent monarch had loaded with favours, offered, if we can credit the report, to perform this horrible mission. "He shall die by no hand but mine," cried he with the voice of a fury.

* This was the state of the regiments, for we wish to be exact in everything. 8th division: Troïitza, Penza, Tamboff, Saratoff, chasseurs No. 15 and No. 16. 9th division: Tchernigoff, Poltava, Alexiopol, Krementchong, chasseurs, No. 17 and No. 18; huzzars, Marioupol, Prince of Orange, Alexander and Akhtyr.

But they all replied to him: "We want you for your regiment." Moreover, several among the United Sclavons had already taken upon themselves the performance of that hideous duty.* Bestoujeff-Rumine claimed it for them, preferring to leave such a task to men of meaner rank, who, if needful, might be disowned or put out of the way. But Artamon Mouravieff, in an almost incredible fit of rage, and really, as he was termed by the chiefs of the committee, rather a boaster in crime than naturally wicked, persisted in refusing to listen to reason. At length, however, they pacified him, and agitation also gradually subsided among his friends. Schveikofski himself, the first cause of this tumult, entreated them not to sacrifice themselves on his account, but to wait for the favourable moment, as had been agreed upon.

That moment was to be, when the troops were being reviewed by the Emperor Alexander at Bélaï Tserkoff (white church), which would probably take place in the month of May, 1826. Till then everything was to remain buried in the utmost secrecy, all meanwhile acting according to the extent of his power, or, as occasion might serve. The essential point was to corrupt secretly the fidelity of the soldiers, and the conspirators expected to effect this, either by perplexing their minds by frequent conversations, or by exciting their discontent by arbitrary treatment and unreasonable demands. The artillery-officers set themselves to work with much zeal; but they were not very successful: the soldiers, keen-sighted, in spite of their ignorance, wished to know, before they make any promise, whether, in what

* Major Spiridoff, Gorbatchefski, and others.

was required, there was anything contrary to their oaths or against the will of the emperor.

What an affecting simplicity! and how well it shews the character of those men, who can be misled from their duty only by deception! The diffusion of knowledge has been regarded by many princes with an evil eye; but, as we see, the ignorance of the people is also accompanied with danger; and a question which still remains for solution, is, to know which of the two is the greater.

Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol had become one of the arbiters of the society of the south; consequently, the directory of Toultchina was acquainted with all the acts of the committee of Vassilkoff. Pestel was perhaps not very well pleased to see the committee acting on its own authority in such serious circumstances; but he liked the impetuosity of his colleague, and, without imagining the outbreak to be so near, he was preparing for it, fearing a surprise. "If Mouravieff starts successfully," said he, "I shall not be behind!"

Such was the disposition of the officers in the first and the second army, at the time when Russia was about to be thrown into mourning by the premature death of the Emperor Alexander.

That monarch does not appear to have attached much importance to the revelations already made by Sherwood, as we have stated, as early as June, 1825; but the news brought to Taganrog, after his return from his journey to the Crimea, by Lieutenant-General Count de Witt, plainly shewed the imminence of the danger; and the unfortunate prince was wounded to the heart with grief, when the effects of an epidemic

kindled a fever in his veins. His brain was affected by delirium. He was not able to withstand so much affliction; neither had he any longer a wish to do so. When the more explicit depositions of Captain Maïboroda arrived, disclosing the mine which so many conspirators had prepared under the feet of the monarch, he had just expired, weary of so long a struggle against insuperable difficulties, and broken-hearted at the sight of the base ingratitude with which he had been rewarded by so many men whom he had loaded with favours. His lifeless hands could not break the seal; but General Diebitsh tore it open, and a few moments after, Tchernycheff received orders to depart for Toultchina and Kief.

The important news had arrived there before him; luckily it had found the conspirators unprepared, and therefore they had not been able to make it serve them for a signal. They required some time to recover from their surprise, but they soon resolved upon their line of conduct. On new-year's day, 1826 (January 13th, according to the new style), the regiment of Viatka, of which Pestel was the colonel, was to be at Toultchina and to mount guard: it was resolved that they should avail themselves of that opportunity to arrest Count de Wittgenstein with Kisseleff the head of his staff, and to set the troops the example of rebellion. But the measures of the government were well taken. Pestel, prevented in the execution of his designs, was arrested on the 26th of December, eighteen days before the appointed time. This was a mortal blow to the society of the south; which was completely paralysed, and could do nothing in support of the desperate en-

terprise of the agitators of the committee of Vassilkoff.

In the society of the north, likewise, everything was ready for an insurrection, and this at least appeared to have some chance of success, for the conspirators were in possession of their leaders to the last. Ryleïeff, as we know, had succeeded Prince Troubetzkoï in the directory; and, from that moment, business was carried on there with the utmost activity. Ryleïeff, who was naturally enterprising and energetic, was moreover efficiently seconded by his literary collaborateur and bosom friend, Alexander Bestoujeff, whom he had initiated in the plot, and who had belonged to the section of the *believers* ever since the month of April, 1825. Bestoujeff's brothers had been seduced by his example. The affiliations, moreover, went on increasing among their comrades in the different regiments of the guard, among the literary men whom the two friends were in the habit of seeing, and lastly, in the marine battalion of the guard, which Arbousoff and Zavalichin had already made the seat of a society rather private than secret. As soon as the latter was brought into contact with the greater society, it blended with it, and made its own inclinations subordinate to its views, which were directly in favour of a republican government. Why must we add that they admitted assassination with the same deplorable facility that we have already found among the United Sclavons? The man who knows anything of human nature may admit that such a disposition is to be conceived in societies where hatred has been for many years brooding in the heart and oppression has overcome every resistance,

foiled every manœuvre, and stifled every complaint. But, till that time, the Russian nobility had made no attempt; resigned and servile, they had embraced their destiny, and scarcely inquired whether the fate of the lower classes were wretched or supportable. How then, was it, that, from the very first, they were urged towards recklessness, towards extreme measures, and, in a word, towards crime? What sort of society is this in which such dreadful thoughts are generated without any powerfully exciting motive and without compunction? How long has liberty been a thing to be created at will? And to pretend to it, ought we not first to render ourselves worthy of it? Is it so cheap a thing that it is rather to be given than purchased; or is it not, on the contrary, a precious triumph which can be obtained only by dint of perseverance and self-abnegation?

However true these reflections may be, a recourse to crime was preferred; and to commit it, the society of the north, like that of the south, found some very ready instruments not immediately connected with its community. So far as Zavalichin is concerned, a false interpretation of the Holy Scriptures appears to have been his leading error. During a long voyage, in which, after visiting England and the United States, whose liberties excited his admiration, he traversed the boundless ocean as far as California, this officer indulged certain dreams begotten in a visionary mind, and imagined an *order of the restoration* which, constituted like the order of Malta, should be charged with the mission of restoring to the earth, and more particularly to Russia, the reign of truth.

On his return home, his illusions were so far from being dispelled, that he did not hesitate to submit the statutes of this order to his sovereign. The discouraging reply he received, appears to have soured his temper; in default of the monarch, thought he, the designs of God shall be realized even without his assistance; for the destiny of societies is not so bound up with the kings who govern them that it is impossible to act without them. How often, alas! has wounded pride inspired with guilty suggestions a heart formed for virtue, and till then faithful to her dictates!

Once familiarised with the ideas of murder, the members of the society of the north no longer halted in that sanguinary and slippery path. Accordingly, when Captain Iakoubovitch came from Georgia to St. Petersburg, in the beginning of the summer, with the resolution of at length gratifying the desire of vengeance which he had entertained for eight years against Alexander, he could not fail of meeting with a good reception. His language, as rapid in its effect as the torch of an incendiary, kindled the flame of malignant passions: the conspirators rejoiced in having at their command a hardened ruffian whom they could let loose upon any victim they chose to point out. However, Iakoubovitch was impatient to begin; he wanted "to strike the blow" immediately, or at least during the great summer reviews, and, at the latest, at the festival of Peterhoff, in August.* They had the greatest trouble to keep this madman within bounds; and Ryleïeff was obliged to display all the energy of

* It was celebrated on the 22nd of July (old style),—the *fête* of the Empress Maria.

his character before he could succeed. Iakoubovitch at length consented to wait till the month of May, 1826, a period appointed by the society of the south, which appears to have given the word of command to the society of the north. Ryleïeff, on his part, had not believed the time to be so near: he had been heard to say that the society would act either at the death of the emperor, or before that event, in case circumstances should appear very favourable. But Pestel's will outweighed his own; besides, we repeat, there was no longer a scarcity of assassins, and they were thirsting for blood.

One day, Iakoubovitch rushed into Ryleïeff's apartment, shouting: "The Emperor is dead! your fellows have saved him from my clutches!" and he gnashed his teeth with rage. That news had filled the capital with consternation. It took everybody by surprise: the society was not ready; it remained inactive; and all its members swore fidelity to Constantine, proclaimed emperor during his absence. But it was not long before they perceived the advantage they might derive from that oath. The whole town, nay, the whole empire was perplexed with doubt: would Constantine accept the throne, or persist in his former resolutions? Every body was asking this question. In the former case, as in the latter, there were chances for the promoters of anarchy; and moreover, Pestel was to be ready no longer for the month of May, but for new-year's-day. In the second case, the more probable of the two, the chances became infinitely more favourable: they would invoke against Nicholas, who was disliked by the soldiers, the oath taken to Constan-

tine; they would raise a cry of usurpation, constitute themselves the defenders of the sacred rights of primogeniture, alarm the religious feelings of the nation, fill every mind with doubt, and, favoured by the ignorance of the greater number, and by the general confusion, at length arrive at the goal proposed. Upon this point they were all agreed. But the question was to know to what form of government they should then give the preference; for Pestel's ideas, though secretly shared by Ryleïeff, had not yet prevailed in the north. "How easy it is to effect a change in Russia!" exclaimed a newly-affiliated member in one of the meetings which were then held every day; "to do it, you have only to distribute a few printed copies of the ukases of the senate. But no other form of government but monarchy is suited to Russia. Even the prayers of the church (of which those for the royal family form an integral part) render a republic impossible. A limited monarchy is absolutely necessary, even though it be only by way of transition."

This new member was Lieutenant-Colonel Batenkoff, with whom Ryleïeff and Alexander Bestoujeff had formed an acquaintance in the autumn. He was supposed to be a man of great influence; for his pretensions were extraordinary, and he had in fact occupied an advantageous post in the council of the military colonies. "Hurried away in spite of himself," says the "Report," "by an unexpected tide of events,* and yielding to the dictates of wounded pride," he listened to the suggestions of the conspirators, whom he hoped to outvie by his intelligence and the boldness of his con-

* The "Report" does not tell us what was the nature of these events.

ceptions. These men, taking advantage of his weak point, were constantly flattering him: if they were to be believed, he never uttered a word that was not impregnated with profound ideas. Batenkoff became gradually a partner in their plans, especially when he had made the acquaintance of Prince Troubetzkoï. "He wished," says the Report, "to take advantage of his connexion with the conspirators of St. Petersburg, in order to reform the existing society according to his own ideas, and, in case of ill success, to annihilate it, by causing the secret of the plot to be divulged by his acquaintances." We quote this passage to shew, by one more example, the incredible levity with which, if the Report is worthy of faith, several of these men, enjoying a more or less elevated rank in the association, trifled with the laws of honour and the sacredness of an oath. Besides, it is well known that, after their arrest, they partly denounced one another; and, what many readers will consider no less astonishing, is, that among their fathers, brothers, and relations, there were many who accepted favours from the hands of the man who had just signed the sentence of condemnation; nay more, their sisters and mothers glittered, a few days afterwards, at the *fêtes* of the coronation, and indulged in the diversion of dancing before the face of the emperor!. as if to testify, even in spite of nature, that whatever he may do or command, he is always right, and may rely on the obedience of all. Happily, with these examples of profligate want of feeling, which our own manners condemn, we shall have to contrast the conduct of a few faithful and devoted wives, renouncing all to follow their husbands, braving the misery of

exile and humiliations of every kind, in order that they might never be separated from those unfortunate men!

Troubetzkoï, whose particularly conspicuous weakness of character obscured his few estimable qualities, lost at first all his courage at the news of Alexander's death and Constantine's accession. If the members had listened to him they would have immediately voted the suppression of the society till more favourable times. But no sooner was he informed of the definitive resolutions of the cæsarovitch, than hope outweighed every consideration, and he allowed himself to be appointed absolute chief or dictator. This perilous post, for which he was so little qualified, was not conferred on him through any confidence the conspirators had in him; but, as we have stated, Ryleïeff, the real dictator, made use of his name to give a better appearance to the conspiracy; besides, the prince's rank of colonel would, at the moment of action, give him more authority over the soldiers. Time pressed; meetings were now frequently called; and it was agreed to lay aside, for the present, the question as to the form of government, by adopting a middle term, that is to say, by proclaiming simply *the constitution* (meaning that proposed by Nikita Mouravieff) and to establish a provisional government. They caused the regiments to be tampered with more and more; each accepted the part he had to perform, and thus they waited for the day which could not be very distant, when a new oath would be exacted in the name of Nicholas,—at length proclaimed emperor. That day was the 26th of December, and we already know its events.

"At least we shall have our page in history," said Alexander Bestoujeff, a short time previously. "No doubt," replied one of his accomplices; "but that page will defile it and overwhelm us with shame." Was he mistaken; and did not the greater part of the conspirators deserve this severe sentence?

As to Poland, her day came five years later; * though that day was more splendid and glorious, yet its final result was nearly the same. Both enterprises were equally abortive. But history will not confound them in one and the same sentence of reprobation; it will not place on an equal footing the generous outbreak of a nation jealous of its independence, and the incoherent attempt of a few hundred giddy conspirators who, swayed by different passions or seduced by vague theories, believed themselves called upon to take in hand the interests of a community, doubtless suffering, but by no means prepared for revolutions, and whose wants they had not sufficiently studied. If that community had serious causes of complaint, at least before waging war to maintain them, these conspirators ought to have endeavoured to remedy them by more sure and less violent means; and the statutes of the earliest secret societies prove to us that those means existed and were by no means unknown.

* The 19th of November, 1830.

CHAPTER IV.

WANT OF LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY AND REFORMS.—A STRUGGLE AGAINST ABUSES.

THE reader has now been made acquainted with the whole of the conspiracy of 1825, to which history will attach the names of Pestel and Ryleïeff. We venture to believe he no longer considers it *an effect without a cause*, neither as one of those unimportant facts which, exciting the sincere sympathy of some and the malicious curiosity of others, may indeed engage the attention of contemporaries for a day, but which are afterwards consigned to oblivion, because they have only skimmed over the surface of a country, without leaving any lasting impression behind.

In whatever manner we judge the men who, instead of devoting themselves to the slow and patient work of regenerating a population corrupted with abuses, had, so to speak, *improvised* this conspiracy, we must nevertheless acknowledge that the real and fundamental cause of that combination was the absence of all social guarantees. Accordingly, the establishment of a system of legality was the only means of preventing the recurrence of the same disorders, and such a system is not incompatible, as is well known, with pure absolutism, the predominant principle in Russia, and, in our opinion, a salutary predominant principle.

This truth did not escape the elevated mind of the young emperor: we shall find him entering resolutely into this career, fathoming the depth of abuses, acknowledging this serious evil, and making generous efforts in the hope, if not of curing it entirely, at least of arresting its disastrous progress, and of preventing it from spreading over the most vital parts of the social organization.

It will be interesting to follow him in the accomplishment of this laborious task; but, first, we beg to be allowed to make a few more critical remarks on those two important documents the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry of St. Petersburg" and that of the "Committee of Inquiry of Warsaw," of which we have just presented an analysis, accompanied by a commentary. In relation to a country so chary as Russia of giving publicity to matters of this nature, official documents of this kind deserve the utmost attention; and in a sketch of Russian civilization at the period to which they refer, they must necessarily be the object of serious investigation.

We are, however, speaking of them before their time; for one of these documents was not signed till the 11th of June (May 30th), 1826, and the other much later, on the 3rd of January, 1827; but they are the principal source whence we must derive the knowledge of facts, and it was impossible to undertake a statement of the latter without saying at once what we think of the former.

Though modelled after each other and drawn up with equal ability,* these two documents have not the

* The writer of the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry of St.

same value in the eyes of the historian; accordingly, we shall bestow our attention more particularly on the "Report of the Commission of St. Petersburg." On the one hand, the Polish conspiracy did not present so imminent a danger as the Russian; on the other, there, was nothing in it unexpected or new; it did not strike at the root of Muscovite authority, neither did it place the government in a very awkward position as to the manner in which it should speak of it to Europe, doubtless attentive but by no means astonished. In the Russian conspiracy, on the contrary, all concerning it was matter of astonishment to Europe, not less so than that interregnum of twenty-four days so advantageous to her interests; and the interest with which the measures of the autocratical government were regarded in the western countries of Europe, rendered the task of the reporter extremely delicate. Russia could not disguise from herself this fact, that the crisis in which she had just been placed, weakened her, if not from the fact itself, at least in public opinion; and opinion, as is well known, is an essential element in the appreciation of the power of a state. She fancied she already heard the people of Europe exclaiming—"This colossal empire, consumed by an inward and secret malady, is not, after all, so formidable as we had imagined. Poland is not the only point in which it is

Petersburg" was M. Dmitri Bloudoff, of whom we have already spoken. This work, which forms 136 octavo pages in the French translation, was the stepping-stone to the brilliant fortune that was in store for him. It served as a model to the writer of the Polish Report, who, before accomplishing his task, frequently conferred with M. Bloudoff about it. Baron de Mohrenheim, now deceased, was mentioned as being the writer of this latter document. He was the son of a German physician, and had obtained the rank of actual councillor of state.

vulnerable; in the event of war it no longer seems quite impossible to effect, even in its bosom, a diversion strong enough, perhaps, to paralyse its means and appliances!" That was an opinion which Russia was urgent to contradict at once, without, however, appearing to attach any importance to it; accordingly, the document in question was framed so as to palliate the evil and to make foreign cabinets believe that they had too hastily given credit to gratuitous suppositions, in the newspapers and the diplomatic world, which had originated in malevolence or jealousy.

What confirms our assertion, independently of the framing of the document itself, is, that the "Report," though a mere indictment, a detached scrap of a criminal procedure relating to domestic matters with which foreigners had nothing to do, was officially communicated to the Germanic confederation, and, doubtless, to other governments. Baron Anstett,* envoy-extraordinary, and minister-plenipotentiary of Russia to the diet of Frankfort, transmitted a note on the subject, dated July 15, 1826, to Baron de Munch-Bellinghausen, the president of the diet.

The note was as follows:—"In consequence of the principle adopted by his Imperial Majesty of giving entire publicity to the results of the inquiries necessitated by the culpable enterprises and the still more culpable projects of secret associations discovered in Russia, the undersigned has been, at different times, in a position to make communications on this subject to the most serene Germanic Confederation; communications which will have proved that the Russian government

* He died at his residence at Frankfort on the Maine, in 1845.

would not deviate from that *system of publicity which exhibits justice in all the majesty of its independence.* Consequently, he tenders to it likewise a communication of the final 'Report.'"

The diet received this document with gratitude, and hastened to communicate it to the central commission of inquiry at Mayence;* as if, except a slight imitation of the regulations of the *Tugenbund*, the troubles in Russia had had the least connexion with those popular secret plots of which the governments of Germany had made bugbears. It moreover instructed its president to reply to the note of the Russian diplomatist, and that answer is so curious that we must copy it here, omitting only the preamble. "If a glorious and paternal government, like that of his majesty the Emperor Alexander, of illustrious memory, has been liable to criminal plots, like those described by the commission of inquiry of St. Petersburg in its "Report," *written with as much calmness as precision*, no doubt can any longer be entertained as to the danger which the false and perverse principles of a few men may inflict on the tranquillity and welfare of the most powerful empires. Nothing assuredly is more proper to engage the attention of every government; and the diet performs *a most sacred duty*, in giving forthwith to its high constituent authorities a full knowledge of these communications, &c."

It was, perhaps, on the part of a government, a step rather likely to compromise it, to share, by approving it, the responsibility incurred by another government in the exercise of its right of dispensing

* Suppressed in 1828.

justice, especially when it was at home in the habit of surrounding the exercise of this right with infinitely more guarantees than it met with under an absolute and arbitrary government. After all, as we have already observed, the document communicated was nothing but an indictment drawn up after a hasty inquiry of five months; a space of time zealously employed, but very inadequate, when we take into account the thousands of prisoners and witnesses, brought from every part of the colossal empire, whom it was necessary to examine. Setting aside the high court of justice, charged to adjudicate according to this instruction (and to deliberate with closed doors, in all probability without any opposition of opinion, and most certainly without admitting any advocates), this document had in itself no virtue of *proof* belonging to it! It is true it bore the signatures of nine superior functionaries, whose honourable characters we do not call into question, and among whom figured the Grand-Duke Michael, the emperor's brother, a prince more inclined, as we have seen, to clemency than to severity; but these nine persons had been chosen solely on the ground of their intimacy with the emperor, and because of the particular confidence he placed in them. Their independence of the czar was anything but matter of proof.

But it would be a mistake if, because of these observations on what might or might not have been the most dignified course for the Germanic diet to have pursued, people were to conclude that we dispute the honesty of the commission of inquiry and the sincerity of its "Report." It cannot be denied that the whole

procedure was conducted with much moderation, and the "Report" bears the impress of this on every page; the diet was right in remarking its calmness as well as its precision. Far from magnifying the number of the guilty, it endeavoured to reduce it; and the avowed crimes of the leaders were such that it could hardly have exaggerated them, even though it had wished to do so. The imperfections of the procedure are common to everything of the kind in Russia; never had there been shewn, in that country, more forbearance, indulgence, and generosity, in a cause of this nature. We wish we could say also more impartiality; but it has not been proved to us that all the guilty were treated by the same rule and with the same measure. What means, for instance, in an indictment, that frequent and studied omission of the names of three privileged individuals, members and founders of the *Union of Salvation*, afterwards members of the new secret society, which two of them, it is true, quitted about the year 1821, but in which the third figured still later?* All three, especially the one who had performed the functions of *surveillant*, were so compromised, that some allusion ought to have been made to them in three different parts of the "Report," and yet they were left out of the prosecution. With them it is said to have been a "momentary error;" but did several others among the accused who were severely punished persevere in their error much longer? It is added, "The emperor has judged them worthy of a

* "Report," p. 31.—This reticence leaves room for conjectures, and people have not failed to indulge in a great number. Among the names brought forward, there figured among the foremost that of a Prince Dolgorouki.

generous pardon:" this is all well and good; but Generals Orloff, Von Visin, and others, whom he equally pardoned, figure nevertheless in the "Report." In well organized societies, sovereign clemency begins her part when justice has ended hers: was it necessary to deviate, thus publicly and exceptionally, from this maxim, in such solemn circumstances, when a whole people's eyes were fixed upon the government?

With this exception, there prevails in the "Report" a tone of propriety and dignity which cannot fail to claim respect. "As far as it lay in the power of the commission," says the preamble, "it has distinguished between weakness or a momentary infatuation and persevering malevolence; it has almost always grounded its conclusions on the confessions of the accused themselves, or on documents in their hand-writing," and it has constantly borne in mind this declaration of the monarch, that, "wishing to follow the dictates of his heart and the example of his glorious ancestors, he would rather pardon ten of the guilty than punish one of the innocent."

On the other hand, without losing sight of "the obligation to strive to purify Russia from pernicious principles, to secure tranquillity and good order, and to assure peaceable citizens devoted to the throne and the laws," the commission took care not to go beyond what was commanded by imperative necessity. Severity, carried to its utmost limits, would have been accompanied with the twofold inconvenience of exposing too many families to the resentment of those whose members, implicated in the conspiracy, it was impossible to save, and to render foreign countries fully assured of

the existence of an evil, as extensive as serious, the discovery of which would not have been to them, as it is to all good Russians, a subject of concern.

As we have said, the cleverness of the writer, in this respect especially, was very conspicuous. After having merely mentioned, in the preamble, *troubles* and *secret societies*, avoiding the too alarming expressions *conspiracy, plot, revolt*, he has been faithful, throughout, to this system of extenuating as much as possible an event, in our opinion, of unprecedented gravity. Although the dungeons in the citadel of St. Petersburg, its casemates, the vaults at the head-quarters of the staff, and several neighbouring fortresses in Finland were thronged with prisoners, the commission reduced the number of the accused, who were to appear before the high criminal court, to one hundred and twenty one; and yet that court, far from seconding this system, had, on the contrary, been an obstacle to it. Hoping to disarm justice, by terrifying her with the multitude of guilty persons whom her sword would have to reach, they had indulged in endless denunciations to which it was difficult not to pay attention, but which very often the emperor treated as they deserved, on the arrival of the accused, by questioning them suddenly and by combining the questions in such a manner as to cause the persons interrogated either to contradict themselves or to prove at once their sincerity and innocence. With the same view the "Report" took care to notice whatever was likely to cast ridicule on the conspiracy and its members; it dwells with complacency on the Utopian, the extravagant ideas, the ambitious dreams of some, the confusion of ideas of

others, the apparent contradictions observable between different speeches often relating to different times and circumstances, to the anarchy that reigned in the society of the north, to the chaos of plans and proposals therein entertained, but which nevertheless did not prevent the leaders, even amidst the general confusion, from bringing their ideas to maturity or from advancing perseveringly towards their designs. Moreover, the reporter has not forgotten to record every word of regret uttered by several of those persons who were guilty in different degrees, not in order to gain for them that interest to which a sincere repentance is entitled, but to proclaim publicly that, by their own confession, they had prosecuted a scheme far more extravagant than criminal. Thus, this confession of Ryleïeff has been carefully recorded: "If any body has deserved a punishment, which perhaps the future welfare of Russia requires, it is myself, notwithstanding my repentance, and the absolute change that has taken place in my own views." The reader is left to conclude that this "absolute change" implies a condemnation of the whole enterprise, when, on the contrary, it referred only to the means adopted, the instruments employed, and the course pursued. Lastly, finding it impossible to pass over in silence the design of regicide, the resolution of so many men to imbrue their hands in the blood of a sovereign full of benevolence and humanity, great stress is laid on the enormity of this crime, on the perverse sentiments and atrocious language of a few individuals, doubtless members of the society, but who had meditated assassination of their own accord and apart from others. No mean

term between the ridiculous and the atrocious! Whatever belongs to these two extremes is faithfully related; but the depositions relative only to declared abuses, projected reforms, and a moral regeneration, the prime end and aim of the association, are generally put aside, or else presented in so unfavourable a light, and with such incoherence, that it is impossible to consider them as the plans of sensible men, the lovers of virtue and pretending to the name of patriots.

And yet the design of honest and able men, like Alexander Mouravieff, Michael Orloff, Nicholas Tourgueneff and others, though very culpable in a political point of view, did not deserve in reality to be branded as an extravagant scheme without any plausible pretence or any definite practicable aim. And, among others, Ryleïeff, and the two brothers Bestoujeff, though abjuring the intention of murder, in which several among them had at last indulged, though acknowledging themselves to be culpable in this respect before God and man, and offering their guilty heads to the just vengeance of the law, made many declarations before the commission worthy of being recorded. They spoke with frankness devoid of fear and every kind of subterfuge; they pointed out the sufferings of the country, enumerated the abuses which infected it, the absence of all law meriting such an appellation, the want of every kind of guarantee for the people, the venality of the judges and functionaries of every degree, the frauds practised everywhere on the most extensive scale, the refusal of justice grown into a custom, the oppression of the poor by the great, and the servility of all. "I knew beforehand," said Ryleïeff, "that

this enterprise would ruin me, but I was unable any longer to behold my country under the yoke of despotism: the seed I have sown will take root, and do not doubt but it will sooner or later bear its fruit." Michael and Nicholas Bestoujeff spoke to the same effect: "I repent of nothing," said one; "I die content and assured of being revenged;" the other carried himself before the commission just as he had before the emperor himself. Whilst the trial was pending, he had spoken out freely on the whole subject to the monarch, at an almost private interview, and the vigour, the strength, the sarcasm of his language, the lucidity of his ideas, the ardour of his sentiments, his patriotism, extravagant perhaps but sincere, and his indignant eloquence had made a strong impression on the sovereign. He looked upon him with interest, felt compassion for his fate, and at length said to him with emotion: "I might pardon you, and, if I felt sure of possessing henceforth in you a faithful subject, I would do so." "Why, sire!" replied Nicholas Bestoujeff, "this is precisely what we complain of: that the emperor can do anything and that he is bound by no law. In the name of God, allow justice to have free course, and let the fate of your subjects no longer depend on your caprice or your momentary impressions!"

Many other remarkable answers are quoted as having been made either to the czar or before the commission;* but nothing of this sort, nor anything like it, has been recorded in the "Report," for what the writer avoided with the utmost care was, to let the accused appear worthy of the interest of generous souls. We

* We have already given some in the First Volume.

do not blame him for it; only, to do homage to truth, we wished to shew that the Russian conspiracy, though it was criminal, was not on that account entirely absurd; that the "Report" was drawn up to suit political views, after an arbitrary selection from some thousands of interrogatories, and the omission of whatever it was expedient to conceal from foreign nations, or what the country itself was not to know. As to the rest, I assure the reader, it is true and sincere, and, we must confess, nothing more was required to cause the legal condemnation of the principal offenders.

Before we take leave of this "Report," let us notice one more particular which appears to us significant in certain respects.

In this document, mention is made several times of designs or acts to which a false interpretation of the Bible had given rise. Here is one of the first instances: the United Sclavonians, says the "Report," p. 73, insinuated at first, and afterwards declared in clear and precise terms, the indispensable necessity of taking the life of the Emperor Alexander, and of exterminating all the royal family. "But that is against the commandments of God and religion," said one of the members of the society. "A mistake!" exclaimed Sergius Mouravieff; and he began to read extracts from the Bible, by which he attempted to prove, by the help of false interpretations, that the monarchical form of government was not agreeable to God.* We read afterwards (p. 134) that, in that catechism which a

* It was doubtless principally chapter viii. of the 1st book of Samuel (or the 1st of Kings in reckoning four books of Kings).

venal priest consented to read to the troops urged into rebellion, the same Mouravieff and his friend Bestoujeff-Rumine, by giving an arbitrary interpretation to some detached passages of the Old Testament, had sought to demonstrate that democracy was the only form of government agreeable to God. Lastly, the third instance (p. 81) relates to Zavalichin, the naval officer. This person, from reading the Holy Scriptures from his earliest youth, believed he had received mysterious revelations calling upon him to bring back the reign of truth on earth. Accordingly, from that moment he indulged in projects the only aim of which at first had been the triumph of the truth of the faith.

These facts seem to bear witness that the reading of the Bible, that daily bread of pious families in England, Germany, and, generally speaking, throughout Protestant countries, was then becoming more common among the upper or wealthier classes in Russia than it is even at the present day in most of the Catholic countries. Assuredly, these facts prove nothing against the utility of such reading among men who are not quite devoid of instruction or intelligence, and especially nothing against the intrinsic excellence of the Book of books. All we can conclude is, that however excellent a work may be, it is still subject to abuse, and that sacred things are quite as liable to it as anything else : a truth illustrated, moreover, in every page of ecclesiastical history. Nevertheless, these facts were not entirely unconnected with the suppression of the Bible Society of St. Petersburg, which was shortly after commanded.*

* The establishment of a Bible Society in a non-Protestant country,

We have now said everything relating to the plot. Leaving justice to perform her task, we will revert to it further on for the last time, in order to see how she understood it, and to introduce the reader to the painful spectacle of an expiation due to the slighted laws of the country, and to public tranquillity which had been so seriously disturbed.

A spectacle no less painful was that of the moral state of Russia, to which it was expedient for the young emperor to apply a speedy remedy. This brings us to the subject indicated as intended to form the contents of this chapter.

It was no longer possible for Nicholas to be under a delusion on this point. He had heard the language of the conspirators, and received intelligence of the discoveries made by the "Commission of Inquiry;" the papers seized in the houses of the conspirators, and unexpected disclosures arriving from all quarters, had enabled him to measure the abyss undermining an empire of sixty millions of souls, where the brilliant exterior of civilization ill concealed the turpitude of a vicious, corrupt, and craving bureaucracy, and the degradation of morals which was at once its cause and its effect. This degradation, common to every class of the population, but appearing under another aspect in each, and arising from a different source, was discountenanced and arrested neither by the austere dignity of the law, by beneficent examples of morality given by

and with the co-operation of a clergy not very friendly to knowledge, is a rather curious fact. We have already seen to what cause this is to be attributed; but the subject well deserves that we should revert to it, and, consequently, we propose to make it the subject of Note (10), in the Reflections, &c. of the present volume.

those who are its organ, nor by the influence of religion exercised, in its name, by ministers with the authority derived from a saintly life and an irreproachable conduct.

What struck the monarch the most, was the inefficacy of the law. Seeing it everywhere eluded, silenced, sold, so to speak, to the highest bidder, he thought that his first duty was to hasten to its assistance and impart new strength to it. To do so, it was necessary, in the first place, to rid it of the trammels of barbarism, render it accessible to all, and facilitate the knowledge of it, a task almost impracticable in the state of things he found existing. To this end, Nicholas ventured to follow the example which another crowned Sclavon, Justinian,* had given him, and applied himself to the work without delay. The performance of this important task, doubtless, does not belong to the first year of his reign; but as it was even then his predominant idea, we may, even at this early period, enter upon this subject and take an ample view of it.

Let us first recall to mind a few historical facts. Peter the Great, who is the commencement of everything in Russia, had already attempted (in 1700 and subsequently) to introduce order into the chaos of laws, statutes, and decisions of every nature which constituted the Muscovite legislation in conjunction with the code of 1649,† due to his father Alexis Mikhaïlo-

* This Emperor of Byzantium was born on the confines of Illyria and Thrace; it is even affirmed that his primitive name was *Oupravda*, of which Justinian (*jus, justitia*) was the Latin translation.

* *Sobordïe Oulojénié Zakonn*, that is to say, general code of laws. *Sobor* is the same word as cathedral, but the adjective of the word above does not appear to allude to that special meaning; it designates only the generality of its application.

vitch. But that was a work of patience, in which energy of will and the impetuosity of genius, were not sufficient to triumph over the innumerable difficulties which presented themselves at every step. Accordingly, the only result was a few *books of ukases*, which, even with those of the following reigns, comprise a period of only twenty-seven years out of the hundred and eighty which had elapsed from the code of Alexis to that of Nicholas. The work, having stopped short on the accession of the Empress Anne, was not resumed before 1760, and even during the reign of Catherine II. it was continued only till 1770. This empress, greedy of glory and the approbation of the encyclopedists, made a great display of setting to work in earnest. Deputies from every province in the empire, except the most distant, which could not have sent them in time were convoked at Moscow, and invested with legislative powers by Catherine in person, at a solemn meeting on the 30th of July, 1767. No important advantage was to be expected from such an assembly, composed of the most discordant elements, and in which civilization appeared in all its different degrees in the persons of the representatives of the various provinces; such a congress was ill qualified to undertake the difficult labour of studying and collating all the acts that had emanated from public authority. It was, if the truth must be told, rather a parade calculated to act on the imagination of mankind and to excite abroad the applause of a liberal age, than a sincere attempt at improvement. This assembly, having been dissolved at the end of five months, left behind, it is true, a new commission of laws composed of enlightened men;

and the empress herself drew up, for the direction of its labours, that famous instruction (*nakaz*), signed on the 8th of April, 1768, justly admired by Voltaire, in many respects the greatest courtier among philosophers; but the work gained little by it, zeal soon subsided, and shortly after the whole was again interrupted. The collection, relating to a short space of eight or nine years, the printing of which was finished, had not even the merit of being complete.* The greatest part of the ukases had never been published or made known, so that the maxim of almost sacred obligation among us, that nobody can plead ignorance of the law as a pretext, was not applicable to Russia.

This state of things did not alter during the reign of Alexander, notwithstanding the ukase of the 25th of August, 1801, in which that enlightened and benevolent prince solemnly promised his people to give them a new code of laws and a revised judiciary constitution. It is true, a commission was hastily formed once more (in 1804), and charged to form into a code all the parts of the general legislation, as well as provincial law; but it knew not how to discover the secret clue to guide it in the formidable labyrinth into which it had to enter, and so the matter remained as it was. It merely groped about from one thing to another.

* "The Commission, which never printed or published one line about its labours, lasted, though considerably reduced in number, and at length quite devoid of occupation, till the death of the empress, and even a short time after." Reimers, "Saint-Petersburg am Ende seines ersten Jahrhunderts," t. i. p. 289, *et seq.*, t. ii. p. 308. The principal act of legislation due to Catherine, is her organization of the governments, justly admired by competent judges. For the works of Alexander's reign, see Storch, "Russland unter Alexander I.," t. iv., p. 202, *et seq.*

"In 1809," says the illustrious Spéranski* in his "Précis Historique," "the subjects of the labours of the commission underwent another division, and its composition was at the same time partially changed. In 1810, in consequence of a new organization of the council of the empire, it was transformed into an institution within its jurisdiction. Its council was abolished, and a director, under whose presidency it was placed, was to lay its labours immediately before the council of the empire. In 1812 this order was again changed. The director was replaced by a council of three members with their eldest for president, and under the authority of a superior director; which lasted till 1826. The labours of the commission did not embrace the whole circle that had been sketched out for it: they were confined to the civil, penal, and commercial codes. In these three parts, *between* 1804 *and* 1826, *a few general heads were drawn up in the shape of projects*, and especially three of the civil code, one of the commercial code, and three of the penal code. The articles of the project of the civil code were, at different intervals, carried for revision before the council of the empire; but this examination was suspended, the first time, on the ground that the third part of the project was not yet completed; the second time, in 1815, the council found that it was impossible to proceed to the revision of the new code, without having determined the existing legislation by a complete and systematic body of laws; the third time, in the course of the years 1821 and 1822, all

* "Précis des Notions historiques sur la Formation du Corps des Lois Russes." French edition, p. 38.

that the commission presented was revised, but a great many articles were sent back to be corrected and remodelled."

This quotation appeared to us worthy of attention. Such, then, according to an official report, was the state of progress of the undertaking so pompously announced sixty years before. Commissions transformed into councils, and councils into commissions, such and such proper names substituted for others, supplements of salaries, and perhaps ten millions of expenses, added to the budget of expenditure, is as nearly as possible the whole history of this enterprise.

One thing is clear, which is, that such men as Portalis, Tronchet, Bigot de Préamenen, Treilhard, Target, Berlier, Merlin, and others, were wanting in Russia; the work miscarried for want of good workmen. Neither Prince Lapoukhin, nor his colleague, Novociltsoff, was equal to such a task; and, if both had been, there was nobody qualified to second them properly. The official reporter confesses this in obscure language. "When the business is to render laws coordinate, and to reduce them to a system," says he (p. 56), "it is necessary to be acquainted with their origin, their different orders, their connexion, and mutual relations: here it is requisite to join theory to practice. Yet, from the march and period of progress of our civilization, this union was very seldom to be found in the commissions which preceded the year 1804;" neither, would we add, in those which followed, unless it be in the person of our reporter himself.* "Almost all the commissions," continues the

* There has ever been an extreme lack of legists in Russia, where,

latter, "looked upon their task not only as urgent, but also as easy to perform; whence it happened that almost all entered at once upon the last portion of the work, without having prepared either the beginning or the middle."

There existed, therefore, no official collection of Russian laws, and the private works* intended to fill up this hiatus, had provided for it very imperfectly: having been, for the most part, undertaken with a view to speculation, they were incomplete and even inexact.

As soon as the Emperor Nicholas ascended the throne, he resolved to remedy so serious an evil as a disordered legislation, with which it was impossible to make oneself acquainted, and whose insufficiency was daily attested. Eager to arrive at a result, and expecting only a very trifling one from the dilatoriness of commissions, he took the business under his immediate direction, and had the glory of forwarding it more in five years than all his predecessors had done in one hundred and eighty.

The commission instituted in 1804, during the reign of Alexander, had not ceased to exist, at least nominally: its president was still Prince Peter Lapoukhin, of whom we have already spoken.† Nicholas addressed

to speak truly, there is neither a magistracy nor a bar. We refer the reader, for what concerns this subject, to Note (11,) in the Notes and Explanations in this volume.

* Those of Tchoulkoff, Maximovitch, and others.

† After having been attorney-general under the Emperor Paul, he was appointed, in 1806, minister of justice in place of the poet Derjavin. From that period, he was actual private counsellor, and, being afterwards promoted to the first class of that grade, he was, with Prince Joussoupoff, the most considerable man in the empire among civilians, having none but field-marshals for equals among the military.

to this personage a decree, dated February 12th (January 31st), 1826, by which the commission was dissolved, and the course it had till then pursued rather explicitly condemned, notwithstanding the respectful language which propriety prescribed towards an old man placed on the highest step of the social scale.

"At the first glance at the different branches of the administration of my empire," says that decree, "a glance directed with special interest to the code of our national legislation, I have seen that the efforts applied to this subject for a great number of years have been frequently interrupted, and, for this reason, the aim has not been attained. Cordially wishing to secure the progressive completion of this work, I have judged it necessary to take it *under my immediate inspection*,* and I have consequently commanded a special section to be assigned to it in my private chancery. . . You know better than any person the importance of a good and solid legislation. . . I am convinced that under the present as the former organization your experience and knowledge of all the different ramifications of state-affairs, acquired in a service of so many years, will offer me a useful co-operation ever characterised by the same fidelity."

The emperor at the time thought that two years

* One would think that in Russia this is the indispensable condition for any institution whatever to prosper: without the countenance of the sovereign, it remains a dead letter, or completely loses its nature. Accordingly, private chancery is increasing to an extraordinary extent: even lately, by a ukase of the 5th of September, 1846, Nicholas has declared that he takes under his immediate inspection the posts of civil functionaries. It is therefore, to that department of inspection that all petitions for nomination, promotion, dismissal, rewards, &c. must be addressed It is a very considerable ministry apart from the ordinary ones.

would suffice for the completion of the code, and he promised to look personally to the proper employment of this period. The second section of his private chancery devoted to the work received the name of section of the laws, and was placed under the authority of a functionary who had long been celebrated, to wit, Michael Spéranski, who, as president of the commission of laws in 1808, had imparted life to it for a moment, and to whom the council of the empire was likewise indebted for its reorganization. This man, of well-tried merit, and invested with the entire confidence of his master, was under his sole jurisdiction, without any intermediacy, in the performance of this herculean task. The emperor watched its progress with the most encouraging interest; and so vigorously was it carried on, that as early as the month of July, 1827, Spéranski was able to lay at the foot of the throne the first half of the historical *exposé* which was to precede the publication of the code, and the remainder of which he delivered in the year 1833. Nicholas, much pleased with this first result of Spéranski's labours, testified his gratitude to him by conferring on him the grand cross of St. Alexander Newski set in diamonds, and by expressing to him in a rescript that he was convinced that the entire work would be executed by him "with the same intelligence, ability, learning, and zeal," as he had just displayed. But a much longer time was consumed over it than they had calculated, and death (in 1839) unfortunately prevented Spéranski* from realizing completely this honourable expectation of his sovereign. Nicholas did not the less pursue his aim, and to him

* See his biography in Note (13,) among the Notes and Explanations.

belongs personally the glory of having, at least in a great measure, attained it.

Spéranski, among whose collaborateurs it is just to mention Michael Balonghianski, the secretary of state, not only performed the task of the historical work, but, after having finished in 1830, the printing of the first section (1649-1825) of the collection of laws (*Sobranié Zakonn*), a section that comprises no less than forty-five volumes quarto, he presided moreover, at the compilation of the Digest (*Svod Zakonn*) intended to furnish their concordance, and published as early as 1832, eight codes, forming fifteen more quarto volumes.

This requires a few explanations:

The principal cause of the futility of the attempts of so great a number of commissions, had been an incoherence of views, and the absence of a wise, uniform and methodical rule. They had to choose between two systems: one consisted in undertaking the coordination of existing laws by order of matter, that is to say, a Digest; the other in composing a new Code, modifying, completing, and improving the previous legislation, according to a philosophical plan, and being guided rather by the light of reason than by the knowledge of the legislative acts in force. In France, in the formation of the codes, they had confined themselves much more to the latter method than to the former, without however disdaining the assistance of the Roman law, or that of the previous national legislation. But, in Russia, the legists found themselves on a very different ground. "Almost every state, from their earliest entrance into the career of their present civili-

zation," says the author of "Précis Historique" (p. 80), "received their share of a rich inheritance,—the Roman laws. It is proved that the use of that legislation never ceased in the west of Europe; but it acquired new strength and became almost general at the commencement of the sixteenth century. And we must observe here that this treasure was bequeathed to modern nations, not in that state of disorder and shapeless mass in which it existed even in Rome, but in its integrity as a body of laws, first from Theodosius, afterwards from Justinian. Providence has bestowed on Russia a different fate. We have received no part of the Roman inheritance. We have been obliged to derive our whole legislation from our own national sources, from our customs, traditions, and experience... Civil laws, criminal laws, laws of administration and interior police, everything had to be created and constructed anew, and with our own materials." It was natural to utilise whatever had been done in this respect: consequently, the former system mentioned was followed, the regeneration of the existing laws, or what Bacon has termed with admirable precision, *structura nova veterum legum.*

The former commissions did not know how to choose between these two systems: they fluctuated between them, and even when following the former, they had not fulfilled the preliminary condition without which it is impossible to realize it. This condition was the previous formation of a complete collection of the existing laws.

Nicholas, guided by Spéranski, did not hesitate: having to choose between a code of concordance and

a new code, he decided positively for the former, and, consequently, commanded that the preparatory work should be immediately begun. "We had prescribed before everything else," says he in his manifesto of the 12th of February (January 31st), 1833; "to get together all the laws and publish a *complete collection* of them; and We had stated Our will that from that collection should be extracted all the laws now in force in Our empire, to be united into a uniform and regular *body of laws*, without in any way changing their spirit, by following punctually, for this work, the bases traced as early as the year 1700, by Peter the Great."

But in order thus to perform the task, it was necessary to undergo an immense labour, which was nothing less than that of collecting every act, without exception, that had emanated from the sovereign will since 1649. And these acts, as we have said, were known only in part. In fact, there were two kinds of ukases, those called *senate* ukases, because the emperor addressed them to that great body of the state, the depository of the laws, for it to register and promulgate them, and those termed *nominal* (*iménitnii*), addressed directly to certain persons, and which the sovereign can enact without the intervention of anybody. The authentic collections of the ukases of the former kind were incomplete; the ukases of the second order remained for the most part in manuscript, stowed away in private archives: they formed, according to a just expression of a young Russian of merit, an occult legislation, though operative over the whole of the inhabitants. All this was obliged to be brought to light, collected, classed, submitted to a critical examination, and

printed. The printing began on the 1st of May, 1828, and was finished on the 1st of April, 1830.

Thus was executed the collection of the laws (*Sobranié Zakonn*). Besides the titles of the code of 1649, it was composed of 35,993 acts, of which 30,920 were anterior to the accession of Nicholas, whilst 5,073 (remark five thousand and seventy-three!) belonged to the seven years from 1825 to 1832. They had been laboriously compiled from the civil, military, judicial, and synodal archives, in the imperial cabinet, the chapter of the orders, and the offices of a great number of authorities of every description. These acts, printed in double columns, filled, as we have stated, forty-five quarto volumes, including the five volumes of contents, different estimates and tariffs; the supplements increased the collection to fifty-six volumes, a number which will probably be increased.

But this first labour being finished, there ensued a second, that of the co-ordination. It was scarcely less difficult, but was nevertheless performed with the same diligence. The following were the different elements of their task: To restore with all speed the primitive text, even at the expense of conciseness, to curtail the preambles of every ukase and act whatever, to expunge all the acts positively abrogated by subsequent enactments,* to avoid tautology, to arrange all the laws in

* In the introduction to the "Russian Civil Code," by M. Victor Foucher (p. 46), we read: "To exclude from the body of laws such as had become obsolete." The last word is indeed to be found in the instructions ("Précis," p. 102), but accompanied with explanations which shew that it is not really desuetude that was intended to be indicated as a motive for suppression; for it was necessary that a law, or such a construction of a law as was suppressed, should be directly or indirectly abrogated by subsequent acts.

force in the order of subject-matter, methodically and so as to form several codes, to give separately such as govern certain provinces to the exclusion of others, and thus to form codes of a local application apart; and lastly, to submit every part of the work to the revision of competent authorities.

If, in proceeding thus, a very remarkable monument of Russian civilization for the last two centuries was constructed, it was clear that the production could not be expected to be homogeneous, harmonious in all its parts, and up to the standard of the present state of civilization; on the contrary, a somewhat discordant pile was erected, attesting at one time the barbarism of the age, at another the progress of a more civilized society.

By way of compensation, a solid historical basis was thus obtained for future legislation; for such a system being once formed, and the whole of the laws distributed into codes, heads, and articles, according to the subject-matter, it became easy to subject the whole, whenever it should be requisite, to a new uniform revisal, governed by the same principles, and made in the spirit of the ideas of the age to which it was required to pay homage. Meanwhile, every day contributes to a progressive improvement, which goes on partially in proportion as necessity calls for it.*

Such is the concordance of the laws compiled in the manner of Justinian's Digest, and termed, in Russia, *svod*, which is but a translation of concordance, recon-

* This progressive method "guarantees the power and the execution of the laws for the present, and lays a solid foundation for their gradual progress in future." Extrait du "Manifeste Impérial de 1834."

ciling, or collation of texts. A work of this nature could not have been executed by a numerous commission, useful doubtless for collecting together the fruits of the experience of many men, for elucidating an idea, or improving the expression of a thought, but a less convenient instrument when the work is a matter of erudition and patience, a laborious collation, the first merit of which is minute exactness. The imperial chancery, under the eye of a master, and directed by a superior man was far better able to perform the task.

As early as February 12th, 1833, the imperial manifesto already quoted solemnly announced that the task was completed. It did not make the Svod immediately obligatory, but it prescribed that it should come into force on the 1st of January, 1835, and determined at the same time in what its legal force should consist.

But the work of legislation was not to end here: independently of its not yet being complete relatively to the past, it was to be continued in the future. "As the Body of laws (*Svod*) says the "Précis" (p. 109), in determining legislation for the past, cannot render it stationary for the future, and as, in presence of new wants, new laws will always be necessary to meet them, it is easy to foresee that, from the constant accession to their number, legislation would soon be plunged again into that confusion from which it has just been extricated. To prevent this serious inconvenience, it was resolved to render the work of codification permanent, to continue the body of laws, and, by a series of annual labours, to bring the different legislative acts successively enacted, to the same system of order and uniformity."

The delay of two years, after the expiration of which, and not till then, the Digest was to acquire the force of law, was, in the opinion of the young Russian legist, already quoted, a kind of appeal to a manifestation of the judgment of the nation, a manifestation, however, rather difficult in a country where the press is neither authorized by its laws nor much patronised by the people. "As far as we are able to conjecture," adds this author,* "from data which we have gathered among the public, we should be inclined to conclude that the country has pronounced *for* it, and the tribe of functionaries *against* it.† The criticism to which the official proceedings exposed themselves, had, we must confess, been rather ill-natured than impartial; the co-operation of the functionaries invited to the revision was never very sincere: it tended rather to impede the labour than to facilitate its progress. And this we can easily believe. The state of confusion in which legislation was plunged, had concentrated its monopoly of speculation in the hands of a few adepts; the propagation of the knowledge of the laws,‡ by means of a clear and methodical arrangement, became as formidable to them as had been the promulgation of the solemn formulas to the patricians of Rome. Besides, we can easily conceive the instinctive repugnance of functionaries living comfortably in a bureaucratical routine, to whatever resembles reform, improvement, or

* "Digeste de l'Empire de Russie," p. 14. (Paris, 1835, 8vo., printed apart from the "Revue Etrangère de Legislation.")

† What we have elsewhere termed *bureaucracy*.

‡ Let us add the possibility of making them an object of serious study, which did not exist before.

progress. Those petty interests, strengthened by petty rivalries and rancour (for the task of codification appertained to the legitimate functions of the department of justice), formed a rather numerous and clamorous league; everything possible was done to bring the Digest into disrepute; volumes were written to point out its mistakes; much trouble was especially taken to give credit to the opinion that its authors, going beyond their sphere, had encroached upon the jurisdiction of the legislator, by substituting their own will for the will of the law. But all these idle declamations fell to the ground before the inflexible will of the emperor, and the Digest, in its primitive state, is henceforth fully binding. Indeed, against what could censure be directed? Against the omissions or the innovations? We think the authors of the Digest will have the candour to allow that more than one precedent escaped their notice, and that others have assumed, after being remodelled, a new aspect. But can these inaccuracies, even though they be admitted to exist, counterbalance the immense advantages of a regular legislation? Must we regret the old order of things and return to that chaos in which, till very lately, memory and reason were equally bewildered? No one would venture to express such a wish openly; neither would he know what to propose instead of it; and doubtless these are the considerations that have secured for the Digest such a triumphant success. "What does it matter," says Justinian, in anticipation of similar objections, "what does it matter whether anything useful has been omitted, if, notwithstanding that omission, I have ridded you of a heap of useless things?"

These observations, though somewhat long, will not appear superfluous: we repeat that we have to study the civilization of a society still very little known; and the elements of such a study are too rare not to bid us make the most of such as present themselves to us.

The first publication of the Svod, at the end of 1832, was composed of fifteen quarto volumes, printed in double columns, and embracing eight books or codes; 36,000 articles—or 42,198, if the additions be included—are arranged therein in 1,429 chapters, and a very detailed table of contents, in alphabetical order, serves as a key and catalogue. These eight codes are as follows—1st, Organic Statutes, in 3 vols., containing the fundamental laws of the empire, as also the regulations on the organization of the administrative and judiciary order; 2ndly, Regulations on *prestations* (recruiting, statute-labour, &c.), in 1 vol.; 3rdly, Regulations on the finances (divers imposts, custom-duties, currency, mines, and salt-pits, forests, &c.), in 4 vols.; 4thly, Code of conditions (that is to say, classes of the population) or laws on the state of persons, in 1 vol.: 5thly, Civil laws, including those on the boundary of properties, in 1 vol.; 6thly, Regulations of public economy (credit, commerce, industry, means of communication, administration of towns and villages, fires, &c.), in 2 vols.; 7thly, Regulations of interior police, in 2 vols.; 8thly, Penal laws, with the laws on criminal procedure, in 1 vol.

To give an idea of the perseverance of the legislator and of the indefatigable activity with which he is performing his task, we may mention in this place that

this last code has already undergone a very essential modification. A complete criminal and correctional penal code, accompanied with a detailed list of regulations on the mode of transporting into Siberia, has been promulgated by a ukase of the 27th of August, 1845. Forming a new volume of the Digest, it supersedes the whole of the first book in the XVth, and came into force on the 1st of May, 1846. By establishing a rather less barbarous, and especially a less undefined penalty, the positive inflictions of which moreover it is now possible for every body to know, it will be of invaluable benefit to the Russian nation.

The general codification is therefore rapidly advancing;* since 1832, it has considerably exceeded the limits of the fifteen volumes of the first publication. Since then five others have expounded the laws concerning worship and public instruction; and the military code, completed in 1839, has been in force from the 1st of January, 1840. Moreover, a ukase of the 13th of July, 1845, having decided that the provisional and local laws of the three Baltic governments (Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland) should be united in a particular digest, arranged according to the model of the Svod of the general laws, two volumes more were published in the same year, and they have been in force from the 1st of January, 1846. Every other edition has lost its official character; for quotations and applications must henceforth be made according to

* By a ukase of the 20th of April, 1846, the emperor promulgated, under the form of a commercial code, a law on insolvency and bankruptcy, proposed by the council of the empire, and borrowed in a great measure from book iii. of the "French Commercial Code."

the number of the volumes and the chapters adopted in the printed code.

Such is the work of legislation commenced by Nicholas at the very commencement of his reign, prosecuted with zeal, and now very near its completion. We have outstripped time that we might present it at once in its whole extent, from the very moment it was undertaken. Without doubt a great work of improvement still remains to be accomplished, but, in the meantime, the Russian empire is in possession of a body of laws which throws Justinian's into the shade; for, such is its extent that there does not perhaps exist a single nation that can boast of possessing its equal.

By way of compensation, in most European states, the law is milder, more deeply rooted in national manners, invested with more respect, and above all more scrupulously applied. Surely these are compensations! It is not enough to possess a written law, though it be just, complete, and worthy of the intelligence of the age; once rendered binding, it is necessary that it should find everywhere the same obedience, that there should be no possibility of eluding its application, and that there should be no exception to its infliction.

The Emperor Nicholas yearned after legality and justice; but in order fully to gain his object ought he not to have begun by renouncing, on his part, the absolutism contained in this fundamental principle of his code: "The autocrat, from whom emanates every kind of justice, is the only irrevocable judge; his decisions alone are definitive?" Ought he not to have consented to the separation of the judicial from the administrative power, without which there are really not

sufficient guarantees for justice? To establish the rule of legality on a solid base, would it not have been as well to be the first to follow his own precepts, to prohibit himself from using, in the nineteenth century, the iron rod of Peter the Great, and to cast his own personal weight into the scale of Themis?

The following fact, however, reminds us, in the arbitrariness by which it is characterized, of the time of the extra-legal acts of violence of the great reformer of Russia.

A law-suit was pending before the senate: as usual, its progress was slow and impeded with difficulties; delays arising at every step did not allow the slightest possible prospect of an early decision, unless, of course, one of the parties consented to a sacrifice. This kind of refusal of justice came to the knowledge of the emperor, who had two ways of putting an end to it; on the one hand, he could command a prompt dispatch of the business; on the other, he had the power of dismissing and disgracing the tedious or corrupt functionaries, who were the cause of the delay. He was unwilling to carry his severity so far, and yet he wished not only to suppress such scandalous proceedings, but also to set an example for the future. How did he act? He did what nobody has a right to do under a constitutional government: he imprisoned the attorney-general of the department of the high court to which the lawsuit belonged, as well as the chancellor for twenty-four hours in the *corps-de-garde* of the senate (July, 1827).

In relation to the second point, the personal interference of the monarch with the course of ordinary

justice, it would be useless to quote examples: this interference is, so to speak, a matter of right, consecrated by custom, and practised daily.* The power of the imperial will is pushed so far as to annul the judgments of the regular tribunals. This is a vital question, which, for that reason, it is impossible to press too strongly: accordingly, we shall do so with all the energy of a firm and decided conviction.

In a strict sense, a country may, without being reputed backward on that account, do without representative or deliberative assemblies: it may even (and Prussia is a witness) do without a written constitution, and some of those public liberties which nations that have conquered them, after long and furious struggles, would be unwilling to renounce.† But with ordinary laws, the guardians of the life, safety, honour, and possessions of every individual in the social body, a country cannot dispense. That body is judged from the character of its laws: it is impossible to acknowledge it to be far advanced in civilization, when the law, still barbarous in many respects, is at the same time applied by ill-organized tribunals, devoid of moral force and

* This occurs much more frequently to aggravate the penalty than to commute it. See the case of the cadet Angel or Engel, that of Prince Sanguszko, of the woman Grascholk, and many others quoted by M. Golovine; or in the "Mystères de la Russie," that of Lacroix the bibliopolist, &c., &c.

† The letters patent of the 3rd of February, 1847, do not make pretentions to anything like a written constitution, as the King of Prussia clearly explained in his opening speech on the 11th of April. On the contrary, they ostentatiously display their opposition to the *constitutialism* of the states of the west of Europe, which call themselves the partisans of the past, and not of the present century, tainted as it is with certain forms of representation, which they declare expressly they will not adopt.

independence ; when it is easy to lull the vigilance or corrupt the equity of the members of those tribunals when there exists a power superior to the law, invested with the prerogative not only of mercy, which is inherent in the crown, but of delaying or defying justice wherever and in whatever manner it pleases.

An analysis of the Russian legislation, a body of enactments belonging to different periods, and, for the most part, bearing less the stamp of the milder manners of the present time than that of the inhuman brutality of bygone ages, is beyond the plan of our work, since it has not been the object of a revision during the present reign, for the work undertaken by the Emperor Nicholas was, as we have seen, almost exclusively applied to the form, to the collecting of the laws and to their arrangement into codes and sections of codes, and not in reality to the very spirit of legislation. This labour has been sufficiently characterized in the preceding pages, and the reader has now, we hope, an exact idea of this system of legality which the young monarch wanted, from the very first, to establish in his dominions. But what remains to us to make known, as an essential element of the picture of civilization of Russia at the period now under consideration, is the judicial organization, which likewise called for reforms, and deserved to engage the most serious attention of the sovereign. After having examined the nature of the legal system determined upon, there is no question more interesting to solve than that of knowing in what degree each individual is admitted to enjoy the benefits of the law.

We will take for guide in this matter a native

writer, a Russian, who loves his country and who, in a book dedicated to the emperor himself, has not been afraid to speak the truth, respectfully, no doubt, as is proper when a man is speaking of his native country to strangers, but also with frankness and sincerity.

The book in question is entitled "La Russie en 1844;"* it is unfortunately deficient in style, but in other respects it has been dictated by an excellent mind, and attests very extensive practical knowledge.

In the judicial organization of Russia, the ordinary criminal procedure, that relating to theft, assassination, and other crimes of this kind, is the least obnoxious to criticism. Our author finds but little to say on the subject: he merely states that it takes place without the intervention of pleading, and perhaps the right of defence in general is much too limited. So long as crimes or offences of this nature are not allied to politics, there is nothing to fear from the spirit which presides over their repression; but the danger begins as soon as they approach this ground,—as soon as the person accused is suspected of liberalism. Then, thought and speech are watched with extreme care, and the least equivocal expression may excite the umbrage of the authorities.

* To this title is added :—"Système de Législation, d'Administration et de Politique de la Russie en 1844, par un Homme d'état," Paris, 1845, in 8vo. This statesman is really a Russian; we could even mention his name; besides the whole work bears witness to the truth of this. It is to be regretted that the work is not more extensive, as the matter would have gained much by being more fully developed. The book is throughout remarkable for its moderation and love of truth. It is with this spirit that we could wish to see all those Russians inspired who, writing in foreign countries, criticize the state of things at home. True patriotism does not exclude censure, but it imparts to it a suitable tone and manner.

What inspires the most lively apprehensions, is the initiative constantly taken by the emperor in affairs which concern the tribunals, and before the latter have pronounced,—an initiative we have already mentioned very lately as a serious fact. On the first report, sometimes at the first insinuation, the autocrat,—taking his title in the widest sense,—orders an inquiry and names a special committee, either to examine the facts or to pronounce a decision. The emperor's aides-de-camp are the instruments made use of for this service. They receive their instructions from the monarch, and if he seems persuaded beforehand of the culpability of a person's act or conduct, how can the committee help allowing him to be in the right, or not come to a severe conclusion? The agents charged with the inquiry and perquisition, therefore, enter upon their labours already prepossessed and troubled by the fear of contradicting their powerful master, the arbiter of their fate as of that of all his subjects. Besides, being educated in the military profession, and without adequate knowledge in matters of law, they are easily led into error, and often discover a crime where there is not even the vestige of one, where there is neither proof nor even probability.

The report is made under this influence, and presented to the emperor. Most assuredly, says the Russian anonymous writer, the attainment of justice is the monarch's chief aim; but he allows himself, in his turn, to be influenced by the opinion of the reporter, by his apparent conviction, and the energy with which he supports it. Thence proceed "acts merely of *will*;" the emperor gives orders to have the business judged

by a special military committee, or else by a criminal commission, when it ought, on the contrary, to be in the jurisdiction of ordinary justice. Nor is this all: "in consequence of the too visible bias, the order given by the emperor to judge any affair whatever in a criminal court *is at once considered as a decree to which the judges must blindly conform.*"

"It is impossible," adds the author, "not to feel extreme anxiety on seeing the demarcation between the civil and the criminal often depending on chance."*

He afterwards reverts to the danger to which any accused person is liable, on being suspected of liberalism. In Russia, this is termed *doukh*, mind, and the arbitrary range of meaning given to this word, and the interpretations to which the word gives rise, are enough to make even the innocent tremble. This word, and a few others, as we are informed, far from having the same meaning and limitations in Russia as in constitutional countries, contain in themselves a sort of discretionary power; "they are understood *ad libitum* by the authorities." No individual suspected of *doukh* can ever sleep quietly; he is either booked in the grand register belonging to the head of the secret police, that is to say, "a man forbid" (*mis à l'index*), or immediately placed under the *surveillance* of the police; he runs the risk of being deprived of the civil laws of the election of nobility; nay more, he may even be transported.† And all this may happen without the individual, upon whom one of these condemnations has been inflicted, having the least notion of it: this is done under the denomination of *measures of precaution.*

* Page 23. † Page 24. The author means transportation into Siberia.

"I shall abstain," continues the same author, "from considering in this place instances of a measure so arbitrarily employed: they are too unjust, too agonizing, too numerous, and too deeply engraven on the memory of every individual."*

Nevertheless, this is not the extent of the emperor's interference in the exercise of justice, which, in countries where civilization really reigns, the government allows to take a free course. The council of the empire, the jurisdiction of which was at first purely administrative and legislative, ultimately became likewise a high judiciary court,† and there, when opinions are divided upon a cause, the sovereign can adopt and cause to be executed the opinion of the minority, as well as that of the majority, by which he is no ways bound.

This leads us to say a few words about the civil procedure, which is tainted with similar abuses: we shall still take for our guide the enlightened Russian,

* If we are well informed, the author was himself an innocent victim of measures of this kind. We will mention another, Prince Peter Dolgorouki, a young scholar, who, under the fictitious name of *Count d'Almagro*, published in France, the "Notice sur les Principales Familles de la Russie," (Paris, 1843, 8vo.) which we have already quoted; a very useful and curious book, but very bold for a Russian who had not settled his affairs before he left his country. Accordingly, the prince was immediately recalled from Paris. On arriving at St. Petersburg, he was obliged to consider it as an act of extreme clemency to be sent, without any form of trial, to his own estates in the government of Viatka, where he remained a year or two, waiting for a pardon, which was granted him at the end of that period.

† The council of the empire is divided into five departments, namely: 1st, that of the laws; 2ndly, of military affairs; 3rdly, of civil and ecclesiastical affairs; 4thly, of political economy; 5thly, of the affairs of the kingdom of Poland. It assembles in departments or in a general assembly, and is composed of some thirty members.

who was the first to point out the reforms that most urgently require to be undertaken.

There are in Russia, as everywhere else, several degrees of jurisdiction. The inferior degree is the district tribunal (*ouïezdnii soud*), composed of a judge and four assessors, two of whom are chosen among the inhabitants of the country, in order that every class of the population may be judged by its equals. Catherine II. had so willed it; but her really liberal provision has not perhaps produced, in practice, the effects she expected from it. Seated beside an aristocratic judge, who never ceases to make them perceive the enormous difference which separates them from him, the rustic assessors lack both dignity and independence. "The only good they can do," says a traveller, in speaking of them, "is to *well warm* the sanctuary of justice;" and though this expression be rather an exaggeration, it is certainly not quite devoid of truth. In every district or *arrondissement* (subdivision of government) there is a tribunal of this kind, just as there is in France a tribunal of an inferior court, or *première instance;* and at the chief seat of each government there are, besides, tribunals of the second degree, one civil, the other criminal, called chambers or tribunals of government, and forming a court of appeal from the district tribunals. Of all the courts, says the Russian statesman, these chambers give us the best idea of a regular organization of justice; their members are elective.* "Here a majority of votes has that value required by law, which

* The nobility choose them among themselves, or from the citizen-class. An imperial manifesto, and a ukase of the 4th of December, 1835, have regulated the elections of the nobility on a broader basis.

in all the superior courts, is *eluded in so many ways.*"* Yet even here arbitrariness is constantly perceptible, for "on a simple request of one of the parties," adds our author, "the department of the senate orders the chamber of government to lay before it explanations on the different articles of that request; and often the senate pronounces judgment, grounded on such a complaint of one party, *in an affair that it has not yet examined.*"

The third court and that of general appeal is the senate, divided, as we know, into departments,† private assemblies having above them, as a superior court, the full assembly of this same court, which can hardly be termed a supreme court for the reasons about to be stated. The judgments of the departments of the senate, like those of the full assembly, are written in the form of *ukases;* but in this case, it is not the mere majority that decides; the law requires the unanimity of the members present. After such a test, it would seem that everything ought to be terminated,

* Page 12.

† They are eleven in number, of which six are at St. Petersburg, three at Moscow, and two at Warsaw. The first of these departments is especially charged with the promulgation of the laws, the despatch of them to the authorities, &c. It settles the conflicts which arise between different tribunals, and takes cognizance of law-suits between the crown and private individuals. The second, third, and fourth departments at St. Petersburg, the seventh and eighth at Moscow, and the ninth at Warsaw, are courts of appeal for civil business; the fifth at St. Petersburg, the sixth at Moscow, and the tenth at Warsaw judge also appeals in criminal matters. The eleventh department is that of surveying, and its jurisdiction extends throughout the empire. The general or full assembly takes cognizance of all such business as has not been able to be decided in the departments. The number of the senators is unlimited; but it never far exceeds a hundred.

and that all that should remain would be to put judgment into execution. Not so! The procedure must first be submitted to the attorney-general attached to the department which it concerns. Nothing can be more absurdly astonishing! for he is one of its secretaries who read, in its presence, the business of the tribunal; he alone, however, did not pay attention to it, his ministry beginning only after the tribunal had discharged its duty. He then examines the bundle of papers, and, if he be not of the same opinion as the judges, he presents his objections to them. It frequently happens that the judges no longer remember the business, for the papers have remained for months in the cabinet of the attorney-general. No matter! The examination must begin again, and if the senators be not unanimously of the opinion of the court, the judgment is null, and the decision then belongs to the general assembly of the senate. In this assembly a majority of two-thirds of the votes is required. This is certainly a very great point; and now at all events a judgment supported by such a guarantee will doubtless be definitive? By no means. Even though it had been given unanimously, it would still be subject to the control of the minister of justice, who can annul, by his *veto*, the decision of that superior court. When, by virtue of his office, he has the affair before him, he causes it to be examined by one of his clerks, for he has no time to apply himself to such finical labour. This clerk draws up a report, stating the grounds on which the opinion is founded, which often occasions a loss of several months, according to the bulk of the papers, which sometimes form a heap of a thousand

printed pages; for the Russians are as fond of scribbling and making waste paper as anybody. Under the authority of his superior, he next submits this report to a discussion in the council of jurisconsults attached to the ministry of justice, a certain number of its functionaries sitting there also with the attorneys-general of the senate. This council adds its own opinion to the report, and the judgment arrives at the minister's cabinet enlarged with all these commentaries. It then depends on the minister of justice to approve or reject it: in the latter case, he makes known his motives, draws his conclusions, and sends the business again to the senate. The latter replies *yes* or *no* to the propositions of the minister; if it be *yes*, the matter is ended; but if *no*, the judgment pronounced remains without effect, and the affair goes before the council of the empire. Meanwhile, one may imagine the anxiety of the parties interested, and the agitation they make in consequence; "they do not fail," says our author, in his incorrect but natural language, "to get to windward of the direction it has taken," * and then everybody does the best he can to dispose in his favour the inferior agents, whose opinion may counterbalance that of one of the greatest bodies of the state. This is, we must confess, a very complicated and confused machine! and yet, besides the council of the empire, of which we shall presently speak again, must be added one not less likely to impede the progress of affairs than this inconceivable interference of the minister and the attorney-general: we mean the *Commission of requests*, a true holy inquisition for legislation

* Page 7.

"which it tortures as it pleases,"* says the statesman, "without having, in its composition, the slightest character of a court of justice." From being at first a simple commission of petitions of complaints addressed to the sovereign, it has extended its jurisdiction as far as the faculty of annulling the judgments of the departments of the senate and of sending them before the general assembly; nay more, it can suspend the execution of the judgments given by this assembly, and propose that the affair be laid before the council of the empire. The latter, whose jurisdiction ought to be purely administrative and legislative, has thus become a judiciary court: causes of great importance are judged by it, but still not without appeal; for, as we have said, they must be submitted to the sanction of the Emperor, who very often confirms the opinion of the minority, and thus gives it the value of a judgment.

The last and highest court is, therefore, the autocrat in person; and in Russia justice not only emanates from the sovereign, but, in many cases, he dispenses it personally.

To sum up all, the judiciary organization in this country comprises no less than eleven courts or different degrees, which may be ranged in the following order: first, the district tribunals; secondly, the chambers or tribunals of government; thirdly, the departments of the senate; fourthly, the attorneys-general attached to each department; fifthly, the commission of requests (to transfer the affair to the general assembly of the senate); sixthly, the general assembly of the

* Page 11.

senate; seventhly, the minister of justice assisted by the council of consultation; eighthly, the commission of requests a second time (to transfer the business to the council of the empire); ninthly, the department of the council of the empire; tenthly, the general assembly of the council of the empire; eleventhly, the emperor himself.

From this multiplicity of shackles, the Russian who serves us for a guide very properly concludes that ordinary justice, being continually in contention with the authorities arbitrarily interfering, "must necessarily deviate from its legitimate path to yield to protection, intrigue, corruption, and venality," whilst the obscurities, complications, and contradictions, still so frequent in the laws of the Russian code, singularly favour fraud or a false interpretation. He has no hesitation in declaring that in any country, with this justiciary mode, even adapted to the best of the codes known in Europe, the free and impartial course of justice would be merely a delusion.

We saw just now with what immense power the minister of justice is invested, a power unequalled in any country in Europe; accordingly, it would be natural to think that this post is never intrusted to any but the highest talent, like that which distinguishes the first legists of England, France, and some other states. This would be a mistake. Among the latter heads of the department of justice, two were poets of the first order; after them came an old general of infantry, whose advanced age did not allow him to study a science so arduous as that of the law; the last two had been chosen in the diplomatic career; the only

person wanting, says our author, was a real lawyer, a jurisconsult by profession. He then adds: "It is not difficult to foresee that this omnipotence of the minister, shewing so little respect for the opinions of the members of the general assembly of the senate, must naturally have for its moral result indolence, and even a contempt of duty and that individual zeal with which every member of the general assembly ought to enter upon the business submitted to him for examination. Thus, instead of studying the matter himself, in order to give his opinion, he leaves it to chance, as the minister of justice will afterwards propose his *yes* or *no*, and then he will have time to choose."

What justice and what judges!* It is true that most of them are there only as a matter of form. Chosen among the soldiers who have attained the grade of lieutenant-general, or among civil functionaries having the rank of privy councillors, they are generally

* Seeing such a state of things, is it possible not to censure severely the following conceited language in the *Pentarchie Européenne?* "Russia is an empire quite consolidated and complete in itself, having its particular institutions (which foreigners, by the way, may consider defective as long as they please, provided they remain salutary for Russia herself), a nationality which little resembles that of Germany, a church with which the west is unacquainted, manners that never belie their patriarchal and oriental origin, a popular vigour, in short, on which the Capua on the banks of the Seine has hardly yet exercised its influence. This empire has but very little direct communication with the states of the central association of Europe (Germany). It can remain an indifferent spectator of whatever takes place at home, and has indeed ever been so till the present day; for what certain Russians have written about Germany can no more be regarded in this matter than the reasonings of certain German or Dutch authors on Russia." After this passage, the author of the "Pentarchie" returns to his idea of a Russian protection exercised towards Germany, of which we have already spoken in vol. i.

of an advanced age when they come to take their seats as senators; and if they do not already possess a few notions on the very complicated legislation of their country, they have scarcely ever the time to acquire them. In each department of the senate, all the real work is done by the president, whilst the other members are asleep in their chairs. Accordingly, the dignity of senator is not accompanied with much consideration: to appoint a person to it is, in the eye of the public, to give him "the Invalids."*

Things being on such a footing, it is evident that the Russian magistracy would need to be guided by an enlightened and learned bar; but no such bar exists. A few advocates draw up memorials for their clients, and point out to them the steps and the sacrifices

* The insignificance of the senators, or rather of their functions, has become proverbial, just as that of the members of the imperial legislative body, known by the denomination of *mutes*, formerly was in France. Without taking literally all the jokes made about them, we may mention that a manuscript has been found in the hand-writing of the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, in which she had taken notes of the names of the officers of the guards, their term of service, their conduct, the distinctions or the punishments awarded to them, &c., and in which this singular note was found under one of the names:—"Dismissed from the guard and sent to be a senator, on account of shallow intellect and improper behaviour." We can likewise warrant the authenticity of the following anecdote. In 1827, Cancrine, the minister of finance, presided in the senate, at the adjudication of the farming of spirituous liquors. One of his friends, seeing him there, asked him with a smile whether he had ever encouraged the idea of being a senator: "Why not?" replied that very sensible man, "when we become old, must we not expect to be again in the company of children?" However, Nicholas has appointed as senators a great many men still vigorous, and of whom great expectation may be formed, such as the privy counsellors Ouvaroff and Baron Paul de Hahn, Generals Kaïssaroff, Gorgoli, Mordvinoff, &c. Among these appointments, we have also remarked that of Prince Bagrath, cæsarovitch of Georgia and privy counsellor.

which prudence commands them to make to indulge in the hope of obtaining justice.

"Russian pleading," says our statesman,* "is utterly wanting in whatever characterizes pleading in the other countries of Europe: it has no publicity nor oral exposition. Everything is done in writings, which the parties are bound to present, from the tribunal of the inferior court, which is that of the districts, to the department of the senate." When the business has reached the general assembly of the senate, its papers will perhaps be multiplied so far as to form eight thousand written leaves, which is the maximum, the minimum being two hundred. "What an embarrassment must such a pile of papers inflict upon the judge, an old decrepit senator, often unacquainted with his duty! It is true a formality requires a second packet of papers, an abridgment of the former, which is given to the senator judges in order to guide them; but the insufficiency of both is but too evident!" "Since there is no oral pleading, there are consequently no advocates bred at the school of the bar or at the faculties of law; but notwithstanding this, everybody acts the lawyer." . . . (We suppress the manner in which ladies, "even of the most noble birth," very often perform his duty.) "If corruption and venality can reach persons of such high rank, how much more do they influence and beset with all their influence the doors of the tribunals and the judiciary chancery? Neither are we much at a loss to discover the sources and origin of this corruption: they are in the secret, and understand the mystery of Russian pleading intrusted to the

* Page 31.

hands of the secretaries of the judiciary chanceries, men whose skill cannot be divested of a vast influence upon causes." "Even though they only told the parties the actual state in which the affair may be, what direction they might cause it to take, how their minds or those of the judges might be disposed; though they took bribes from either party, warranting them both success on condition of returning in the contrary case the liberal presents they had received, they would still be sure of being the gainers by one of the parties, *but the adroit gain by both.*"*

Yet hitherto these scandalous proceedings have existed without a remedy, notwithstanding the honest intentions of the government, which has tried every means. It has severely punished the functionaries convicted of such shameful conduct, and has encouraged honest men by rewards or an increase of salary. This has produced no other result, says our author, than that of "raising the tariff of illegal impositions, by improving the means of precaution to be taken."

With such instruments every thing naturally remains in a state of suspense and misery, for everybody waits till he is urged to do his duty by the only motive capable of overcoming his apathy. Accordingly, in the year 1826, the first of the reign of Nicholas, there were no less than 2,850,000 causes of every description pending before the different tribunals of the empire;† and 127,000 individuals were in a state of arrest.

* Pages 32 and 38.

† We are told that the senate pronounced judgment, in 1824, in 40,000 causes, and in 1825, in 60,000. As there are not 200 days of sitting in

The emperor, whose attention had been called to this extreme dilatoriness of justice by the disclosure of the conspirators, or by the examination of their papers, gave imperative orders to the minister charged with this department that more diligence should be employed, and that business should be speedily and regularly dispatched. A circular enjoined the civil governors to look to it in all the tribunals in their jurisdiction, especially in what related to prisoners. The attorneys-general received orders to give notice of every omission and delay to the minister of justice, on whom was imposed the obligation of submitting every month to the emperor an extract of reports of this kind. In fact, they got rid of those enormous arrears; and the monarch states, in a rescript addressed on the 3rd (15th) of January, 1827, to Prince Labanoff Rostofski, that at the end of one year there remained no more than 4,900 persons detained in prison, and that there were but very few cases that still remained unsettled. On testifying to the minister his gratitude for the result, he concluded his rescript,* benevolent in other respects, with these words, in which severity is concealed under the mild form of the language: "I hope that by new and still more important successes, my fervent wishes will be in future fulfilled; that by the most speedy possible dispatch of business, consistent with attention and exactness, it will be prevented from accumulating;

a year, this makes more than 300 law-suits per day. And yet the senate finds means to prolong a great number to such a degree, that parties are often reduced to despair.

* See the "German Gazette of St. Petersburg," 1827, No. 3.

that everywhere in the state, the security of person and property, and all the rights of each of my well-beloved subjects will be protected by an impartial justice; and that they who are constituted the guardians of the right, *will be exclusively guided* in all their conduct by a sense of duty, by the respect due to the sacredness of the laws, by their oaths taken to the throne and by the principles of honour. And for this purpose, may God who blesses all good resolutions come to our aid."

This noble language did not fail to produce its effect. However, according to an official report of the year 1842, the number of causes judged by the different tribunals of every degree was 3,292,691; an immense task which one would think it would be impossible to perform suitably in the space of a twelvemonth. Yet, of this number, only 4,226, unsettled and forming the whole of the arrears, passed on to the following year.

Law and justice were, as we have said, the prime objects of the young emperor's solicitude. But if justice was not suitably dispensed to individuals, pleading against each other, it was frequently so much the more slighted in the commerce between these same individuals and the agents of government belonging to the different branches of the administration.

We are aware that we are here on dangerous ground; we are handling one of the most painful wounds of Russia, that wound which so many authors have lately touched, for the most part, alas! only to envenom or irritate it. God forbid that this should be our intention! The reader has already seen that we do not deny the laudable endeavours that have been made to

cure it, but we know it is impossible to improvise a remedy for a malady so deeply seated. Besides, have we any right, at the present day, and in our own so highly civilized countries, to be severe towards Russia, placed as she is in far less favourable circumstances? Strictness of principles is the honour of governments as of individuals: now, on both sides, even among us, principles are fluctuating; compromises are the order of the day; the highest interests are diurnally sacrificed to paltry calculations, corruption* is invading the social body—in a particular form, it is true—but one that makes no alteration in its nature. The observation of such facts in a society in which honour seemed to have firmly and conspicuously settled herself, inclines us towards indulgence when we have to judge the moral condition of another society, more recently civilized, less accessible to spiritual tendencies, and less moulded to a dignity of character by the comfort spread throughout every class and by the diffusion of ideas; a society lastly in which the restless ferment of primitive barbarism is still in commotion, in which even the patriarchal manners of the people are very feebly impressed with that uprightness and probity which have grown stronger in the West by a long struggle against feudal oppression;† and in which re-

* We will quote a few cases and make known some new facts in Note (13) in the Notes and Explanations of the present volume.

† This idea would, perhaps, deserve to receive some development, if our space permitted. We mean to say that, in our countries of ancient feudal organization, the struggle against oppression, more personal and more equal between the parties, has had more influence upon the character of each, instead of annihilating individuals, it has, on the contrary, strengthened and aggrandized them. In Russia, direct and individual

ligion, taught by ministers whom noble examples and serious studies have not so well prepared for their august mission, has been unable to exercise in the same degree its civilizing and moral influence.

We wish not to exaggerate in the least; and certainly we are not influenced by a spirit of disparagement. The reader will do us the justice to believe that our pen has never been characterized by bitterness. But what would be the use of dissembling the evil when our subject leads us naturally to measure its extent? Has not the grave Spéranski himself, in treating of Russian legislation in an official paper, deprecated the vast field open "to fraud and chicanery?"* A struggle against the abuses to which their empire is a prey, is the most urgent duty of the Russian emperors; their security depends on it, and the salvation of their people is to be purchased only at this price; and the other nations of Europe will sincerely open their arms to that people and consider them as their equals only on condition of a regeneration, which they can alone expect from the honour, courage, and perseverance of their sovereigns.

It is therefore important incessantly to remind these sovereigns of the arduous but glorious task which is in store for them. Instead of concealing the evil from every eye, it is better, in our opinion, to expose it

oppression, the oppression exercised by the nobility was less, but the public tyranny exercised either by the victorious mongols, or by the native czars, left no possibility of resistance: the result has been a universal servitude the characters of which have indelibly remained. See, on this subject, the judgment of Karamzin in the Notes and Explanations, Note (14).

* "Précis des Notions Historiques," &c., p, 89, note.

before those whose duty it is to apply the remedy, and whose attention it ought day and night to absorb.

Besides, we are composing history: our task compels us to the relation of facts with minute exactness.

As early as one of the first weeks of the reign of Nicholas, an extreme activity was imparted to the department of interior administration: the emperor was desirous of knowing and seeing everything in person. At a moment when he was the least expected, he would visit the establishments of the crown; almost all of them were inspected by him during the earlier months, excepting the senate, in which, at the time of the coronation, he had not yet set his foot. Until he could also visit the provinces, he sent inspectors into all the different seats of government, and sad reports were transmitted to him from every quarter. In sixteen regencies of the government, the execution of 2,749 ukases of the senate, decreed since the year 1821, had been neglected; in the single government of Koursk, 660 documents of this kind had remained buried in portfolios. Severe reprimands were addressed to the governors; they were summoned to send explanations, and the space of a year was fixed for them to put their accounts in order. But this term, granted by the ministers, appeared much too long to the emperor: he not only reduced it to three months, but he warned the negligent functionaries that, in case of a relapse, they should be prosecuted before the criminal court. Nor is this all. Some monstrous abuses came to his knowledge, and we are assured that the most serious charges were impending over the administrator of one of the governments of which we have just

spoken. The first inspection commanded in his jurisdiction, an inspection in which a prince Troubetzkoï had been employed, having brought to light no discovery, notwithstanding the probable evidence, Prince Dolgorouki was sent with orders to recommence the operation; then extortion of every description, and real acts of cruelty were disclosed. The governor was instantly dismissed and degraded. Peter Polétika, an honest senator,* was charged with a general inspection, which the ministers themselves were unable to escape. He found everywhere the greatest disorder, not omitting the regency of the government of St. Petersburg, where no accounts had been verified for years together: accordingly, one of the cash-keepers took to flight on this occasion, leaving a considerable deficit. In few places had the books been kept conformably to the regulations; and negligence was conspicuous everywhere. In one place there were abuses of authority, in another acts of venality. In a severe report, addressed to the emperor, Polétika testified his surprise that things could have gone on till then on such a footing, and he proposed different measures, several of which were adopted. However, the inspection was not proceeded with to its completion, and the courageous man who had undertaken it was, perhaps, not always supported as he might have expected to have been. A quarrel between him and the civil governor of Moscow, an in-

* He was brother to Polétika the publicist, whose professor, De Jakob, published at Halle, in 1818, the "Essais Philosophiques sur l'Homme," the fruits of a metaphysical inquiry still too far advanced for Russia, and which were prohibited there. The same professor, L. H. de Jacob, has also written on the finances of Russia, and drawn up a plan for a criminal code for that country (Halle, 1818).

fluential man who had been brought up with the Emperor Alexander, and whose pride was roused at the idea of such a control, impeded its effects. There still existed, it is true, a special commission, appointed in June, 1826, for the purpose of considering the means of putting an end to extortion, refusal of justice, and prevarications of every kind; but it cannot be said any the more to have found a remedy for the frightful evil by which Russia is consumed.

Being composed of very honourable men, and having for its president the worthy senator Engel, the object of public respect, this commission performed its equally delicate and laborious task zealously and intelligently. After long deliberation it proposed the following measures: to abolish the secrecy of chancery courts, that is to say, to introduce a certain publicity into the proceedings; to make the civil functionaries objects of greater respect, and to found special preparatory schools for those who proposed to enter upon this career; to increase the scale of salaries, an essential point, but one abounding with difficulties, for the Russian budget is not yet able to bestow a sufficient remuneration on such a numerous army of functionaries of different kinds;* to separate the judiciary from the administrative functions, and render the verdict of the judges irrevocable. These proposals were wise, but calculated to reform the future rather than the present;

* As we have already seen, good judges are even of opinion that this remedy would not be so efficacious as is expected; a state of better fortune, say they, far from suppressing the extortion of the functionaries, would have only the effect of making them set a higher value on their complaisance.

and the emperor was seeking an immediate remedy. Perhaps, also, he had too many objections against the members of the commission. What is certain is, that he revoked it in May, 1827, at a moment when several members had prepared speeches, in which it is said they would have frankly proclaimed the whole extent of the evil.

However, with facts attested by positive proofs before him, Nicholas shewed himself inexorable on more than one occasion. We will illustrate this by a few examples.

A councillor of state, and director of the chancery of the minister of justice, in accepting, in the spring of 1826, a sum offered by a person whose cause was about to be tried, had done nothing more than what had been practised from time immemorial in every Russian chancery, without exception. Unfortunately for him, the emperor was informed of it. Highly exasperated, he ordered this functionary, so criminally abusing his duty, to be put on his trial, and insisted on the necessity of making an example of him by transporting him to Siberia. Notwithstanding the severity of this judgment, the senate would doubtless have acceded to it; but the business was carried before the council of the empire, and a new trial took place. Its president, Prince Lapoukhin, had just died, and his successor was not yet appointed; but Prince Alexis Kourakin performed provisionally the functions belonging to that high post. In his report to the emperor, Kourakin declared that, in the absence of positive proofs, it had appeared to the council impossible to condemn the prisoner; but that serious probabilities were de-

posed against him, and that, in that state of suspicion, he did not appear worthy to retain his place, nor to occupy any other whatever in the public service. The emperor, therefore, remained satisfied with his dismissal.

In another cause, he lent his support to a plaintiff, even against the senate of Moscow. She was the wife of a general, to whom a house had been sold, which had been previously adjudged to another by contract. She had been to much expense with the house, when she was expelled by the lawful proprietor. She applied to the tribunals, but in vain: she could not obtain redress. At length the business came before the council of the empire, and the monarch confirmed the decision, ordering that the lady should be indemnified out of the salaries of the members of the departments of the senate sitting at Moscow.

His injunctions to the president of the supreme council were not less urgent than those to the minister of justice. He likewise received towards the end of 1826 a rescript partly laudatory and partly calculated to stimulate his zeal.* Prince Lapoukhin was too old a servant, and occupied too high a place in the state, for direct reproaches; but the emperor engaged him to increase his exertions "in order to aid me," said he, "to bring to perfection the *improvements which the administration of the empire requires.*" He added: "Neither you nor your colleagues are ignorant that the object of all my cares and dearest wishes has hitherto been, and will never cease to be, to *establish a durable*

* See "Journal de St. Petersbourg," 1827, No. 7.

system, that may guarantee the happiness of all and the interests of each."

If, after all he had learned in the space of a few months, Nicholas could still have entertained any doubts on the dishonesty that prevailed in the administration, an event which happened at this very period, and presenting that unheard-of instance of degradation to which we have before alluded, would have effectually dispelled them.

In April, 1826, there was a grand review of the troops, the emperor being then at his magnificent château of Tsarsko-Sélo. At the moment that everybody was looking at the grand sight of the ranks of men in brilliant uniforms, obeying the word of command with a punctuality and uniformity almost impossible to attain elsewhere, four men of the class of *mougiks* or peasants, with long beards, and wearing caftans, made their appearance. They boldly marched forward, spoke to the superior officers, and explained their request, which was nothing less than to speak with the monarch. A pretension of this kind is never easily admitted anywhere, but with still more difficulty in Russia, where classes are separated from one another by often insurmountable barriers, and where, for that very reason, whatever is unusual becomes a matter of suspicion. If truth ever endeavours to reach the throne, it is obliged to attempt to make its way by some mysterious channel. In a country where everybody lives on abuses, each fears, by not discountenancing officious communications, to draw upon himself the difficulties which he would not have spared a colleague or comrade. The peasants were, therefore, rather badly

received. The officers did not fail to tell them that their request was absurd, and to command them to state at once the business that had brought them. Being cunning, like most of the lower class of Russians, they were not to be caught by this snare; they declared that their business was of the utmost importance, and that they would communicate it to none but his majesty himself. This conversation did not escape the penetrating glance of the young czar: he desired to know what was its subject, and ordered the *mougiks* to be brought before him. They stood forth, and bowed to the ground; then looking fearlessly upon him, whose humble slaves they acknowledge themselves to be, yet whom they term their father (*batouschka*), one of them boldly spoke and explained their business. They had just discovered some incredible depredations that had taken place at Kronstadt, in a manner of speaking, before the very face of the director of the marine, brother to the head of the general staff of the fleet. The bazaar of the city (*gastinoï-dvor*),* said they, is crowded with goods belonging to the crown, and stolen from its stores, dock-yards, arsenals, and ships: rigging, ironwork, copper lining, and a thousand different things which serve for fitting up ships, are heaped up in the shops behind false partitions, where purchasers are introduced who come to make cheap bargains. Anchors, cables, and even cannons are thus gradually disposed of to foreign countries, to the detri-

* That is to say, court of foreign merchants. This vast bazaar has sometimes been called the *Palais Royal* of Russia: in our opinion, these two establishments resemble each other about as much as Russian does French civilization.

ment of the treasury. The emperor, in spite of his acquired experience, refused to give credit to such abominable practices; but the peasants persisted, saying they were certain of what they stated, and their language seemed to be dictated by truth. Then, with a stern countenance, he called them to account for their obstinate determination to see him, and for their having disobeyed the officers by refusing to explain the reason of their request. "If we had made these facts known to any other than your imperial majesty," they replied unhesitatingly, "you would never have known anything about them, and the only persons punished would have been ourselves." "Take care! I consider you responsible for your language," said the monarch, putting an end to the conversation, but resolved to clear up the affair.

By his orders, Michael Lasareff, one of his aides-de-camp, a captain in the navy (now vice-admiral), and belonging to a rich Armenian family of Moscow,* took immediately 300 men, repaired with all speed to Kronstadt, and suddenly surrounded the gastinoï-dvor. Having found therein a proof of all that the peasants had stated, he set seals on the shops, left functionaries there to guard them, and went back to give an account of his mission. In a moment of vexation, Alexander had once exclaimed, speaking of his subjects, "If they

* The first of that family, whose name has been immortalized by scientific and beneficent institutions, as also by the founding of churches of their religion, brought from Asia to Russia that large diamond, weighing 193 carats, which adorns the imperial sceptre, and sold it to the crown for 2,600,000 francs, besides a life annuity of nearly 100,000 francs (104,000*l.* and 4,000*l.*). This diamond is the largest known in Europe; the *Régent*, in France, weighs only 137 carats, and the diamond in the crown of Austria only 139.

knew where to put them, they would rob me of my ships of war:" that exclamation was being realized almost to the letter; the emperor had certainly not thought he was speaking so near the truth. Nicholas was thunderstruck at the news of such a system of robbery, and ordered the guilty to be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law. But on the night of the 21st of June following, the sky was illumined with a red glare, that reached as far as the neighbourhood of the capital, and the next day news was received that a conflagration had destroyed the gastinoï-dvor of Kronstadt, as well as immense stores of timber, ropes, hemp, tar, &c. The "Journal de St. Petersburg" did not even mention this disaster, and the real authors of it were never known.

What a new light for the young sovereign! What a sad comment on the interior rottenness of that empire, outwardly tinselled with such a brilliant appearance of civilization! Till then every day had brought lessons of the same nature; the most vexatious discoveries had happened in rapid succession; and every illusion must have been dispelled from the mind of Nicholas. Perceiving that he was surrounded by dangers, he felt the necessity of constant vigilance; accordingly, he directed his personal attention to every branch of the administration, and worked day and night to such a degree that he grew thin, and his eyes, red with fatigue, assumed a dull leaden expression. "Mercy, gentlemen," would the empress often say to the ministers, interposing with affectionate solicitude, "allow *my husband* to repose a little, and come and take tea with me!"

It was this need of vigilance which soon gave rise to the institution of a superior police attached to the private chancery of the sovereign. Till then, a section of the ministry of the interior had been devoted to that sort of inquisition, distinct from the ordinary police, spreading like an immense network all over the empire: Count Araktchéïeff had, moreover, a special police charged to watch over the life and to secure the safety of the sovereign. But the disclosures of the few last months had just given evident proof of the insufficiency of this triple police. Moreover, the head of the state now knew for certain that the persons employed in the administration required to be watched no less than the malevolent agitators, the enemies of public tranquillity. But who was to watch them? To whom could he confide that task? So many men had proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of the monarch, that it began to be shaken; and Nicholas no longer trusted anybody but himself and a few intimate friends by whom he was constantly surrounded.

Among this number was General Alexander de Benkendorff, of whom we have already spoken, a man, if not extremely moral, at least honest, besides being active, enlightened, of uncommon intelligence, and an agreeable companion. Having long been general aide-de-camp, and recently placed as commander at the head of the 15th division of cuirassiers, he was appointed, at the end of June 1826, head of the gendarmes, charged with the command of the head-quarters of the emperor, and was from that moment, till his last illness,* inseparable from his person. To the

* He died general-in-chief, count, &c., on the 23d of September,

private chancery, already increased by a second section, was added a third,* destined to become the seat of that incessant and general inquisition, which has its agents less among the crowd and in vile neighbourhoods than in *salons* and government offices, not only in Russia, but in every part of Europe, in Paris, London, Switzerland, and Belgium; agents mixed up in every business, present everywhere, invested in Russia with a discretionary power, and the arbitrariness of which is to a certain degree personified in general Doubbelt, deputy or vice to Count de Benkendorff, and to Count Orloff, his successor. "What are," exclaims the Russian patriot already so often quoted,† "What are the guarantees of the extreme honesty of the agents of the gendarmerie? Who would venture to reply? If they were in reality particularly honest and upright men, it would be better to make them effective leaders of some chambers, tribunals, or departments, than to set them as guardians over other leaders, which can tend only to shackle business by multiplying abuses. These abuses, we cannot repeat it too often, proceed less from the functionaries than from the defects of the institutions; and the suppression of the secret police or the gendarmerie is the fervent wish, and the real interest of the state and the nation."

At the period now under our consideration,—an

1844, on board the Russian war-steamer, the Hercules, on his return from Germany. For some time, religious ideas had had great dominion over his mind.

* Since then, a fourth for administering the endowments of the late Empress Maria Fëodorovna, and a fifth for examining the titles of public functionaries.

† "La Russie en 1844," p. 129.

especially critical period,—circumstances justified perhaps the introduction into the government machine of this new secret wheel, unfortunately necessary in certain cases, but very difficult to preserve from every kind of contamination. Even under an equitable government, the administration of the police is subject to enormous abuses; moreover, it cannot answer for all the acts of those instruments, for the most part equivocal, whom it is obliged to employ.

Doubtless, hoping to obtain an improvement in salaries, which he even hastened to effect immediately in a few branches, Nicholas proclaimed likewise the need of strict economy in public expenditure, and commenced retrenchments in his own person and in his court.* From 1823 to the end of 1825, Alexander had made, although tardily, the first step which is always so difficult in that direction; Nicholas was determined that the accounts of 1826 should shew a still lower figure, and he accomplished his object by rigorously controlling in person all the details of the accounts of his household. The saving he effected amounted to the sum of 67,500,000 roubles in paper money. Accordingly, from 1822 to 1828, the Russian government had not to contract any new debt, and even in the latter year, when it saw itself forced by the necessities of war to have recourse to this means, it used it so sparingly, that the general debt of the empire received but a very trifling augmentation.† As to the reductions of 1826, they were calculated especially to benefit, at least in

* To give an example:—the expenses of the kitchen and cellar were reduced from 600 to 200 paper roubles per day.

† On the first of January, 1830, it formed a sum total of 1,300,000,000 francs.

part, the unfortunate peasants overloaded with taxes, and to whom it was urgent to grant relief.

We have already spoken of their mutinies in 1824. That ferment still continued. The fate of that class of the Russian population was deserving of pity. Overwhelmed by the burden of taxes and impositions of every nature exacted from them, the agriculturists found themselves in addition exposed to misery by the languishing state of trade and the want of a market for their corn, one of the principal products of their agricultural industry. Before the establishment of military colonies, the government had been in the habit of purchasing vast quantities of the corn which the peasants had much trouble to dispose of; but now it was furnished by the colonist cultivators, and, to encourage their labour, it naturally gave them the preference over the other growers. By these means the distress of the agricultural class was increased.

Besides, the Russian peasantry were not ignorant of the great act of emancipation which had just taken place, and was proceeding in the Letto or Estho-German Baltic provinces.* False reports spread among them the opinion that the serfs of the crown would be relieved from the payment of the *obrok*, or annual rent which was imposed on them, independently of the capitation tax, and that the serfs of private individuals, a class far more numerous, and unfortunately also, more oppressed,† would be freed from the yoke of their mas-

* The nobility of these provinces, as also the citizen class of the towns, is, as we have stated, German; the rural population is Lettonian or Esthonian.

† In Russia, 45,000,000 of individuals are reckoned as belonging to the class of serfs; of this number, there existed in 1842, according to

ters, to whom they should owe in future neither statute-labour nor tributes. In Volhynia, Podolia, and other provinces of the south, these rumours, which were circulating in every part of the empire, had been credited and envenomed by the conspirators. They were eagerly listened to by the peasants, who were groaning beneath the double yoke of their seigneurial impositions, and the requisition for the subsistence of the troops of the first and second armies quartered on them for several years. When the accession of Nicholas was known, it was imagined that the new emperor had inaugurated his reign by this grand act of enfranchisement; and as their masters continued, nevertheless, to apply the ancient system to them, the serfs mutinied and refused obedience. The consequence was serious riots, which, spreading from one government to another, at length reached the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg, for they broke out in a violent manner about Gatchina, formerly the favourite residence of the Emperor Paul, and which the empress, his widow, had ever since inhabited during summer. In a few places the peasants concerted together to address a collective petition to the czar, never apprehending in the least the bad reception in store for these proceedings, which considerations of interior policy caused, however, to be declared inadmissible. All the efforts of the provincial authorities were unavailing against the obstinacy of those masses of mutineers: the calling out of the troops appeared inevitable; but, be-

an official report of the minister of properties, 17,086,236 peasants of the crown of both sexes; leaving a remainder of about 28,000,000 serfs of private individuals.

fore having recourse to these means, the government wished to try one last pacific measure. The emperor published a manifesto, dated May 30th (18th), 1826, in which the reports in circulation were declared to be false and maliciously invented by people who were deceiving the simple inhabitants of the rural districts, hoping to make them the tools of their own designs. Accordingly, it strictly called upon peasants of every denomination for the strict fulfilment of their legal obligations "without demur or equivocation." Governors were ordered to look to the speedy execution of the imperial will, and the manifesto was ordered to be read for six months, on every Sunday and holiday, in the churches, markets, and public squares. Nevertheless, in many places, the peasants persisted in their disobedience, and it was necessary to send troops against them. On the 5th (17th) of July, Mouravieff, the secretary of state, presented to the senate a decree from the emperor, enacting that, wherever it might be necessary to employ force of arms to put down the riots, the ordinary forms of procedure should be suspended, and the rioters judged according to martial law. The civil governors received full power to confirm on their own authority, and cause judgment to be executed in every case where the number of criminals did not exceed nine; in case of a greater number of offenders, they were to submit the decision of the judges to the governor-general, or, if they had none above them, to the committee of the ministers to whom those superior functionaries were likewise bound to refer; the sentence of the committee afterwards required the imperial sanction.

But whilst taking these severe measures, the emperor also directed his attention to the best means of destroying the evil at its source. Another ukase prescribed to the different local authorities that they should see that masters did not exact anything unjustly from their peasants, nor treat them with too much severity; and, should such a case occur, they were to report it to the civil governor. Doubtless, humanity had as great a share in this prescription as policy; however, it was, before long, found to be inadequate to the fulfilment of the monarch's intentions; besides, it occasioned an intolerable system of *espionage* on the part of the subaltern authorities authorized to interfere in the seigneurial administration. It is true, the landed proprietors had not to fear its consequences to themselves, but they dealt one more blow to public morality; for, in proportion as authorities are less elevated, the more liable they are to corruption, and the lighter is often the sacrifice at which impunity is purchased.

At length order was restored.* But even in this affair the young emperor must have seen alarming symptoms: here, also, were more serious seeds of dissension, which an approaching future may develop. It is evident that the strictest observance of legal measures on the part of the masters can alone henceforward prevent the misfortunes with which the tottering edifice of bondage threatens the state, on which it seems ready to fall.

* If we are to believe M. Custine (vol. iv. p. 11), another revolt of the peasants took place in 1839, at which period eighty villages were burnt by the rural population in the government of Simbirsk.

It is not foreign to our subject to examine this question carefully.

Next to corruption, serfage is the most serious and the most difficult to be cured of the evils which afflict Russia. The reign of Nicholas seemed likely, in this respect among others, to begin a new era; there was reason to hope it would be seen immortalizing itself by the noble act of emancipating the serfs, a measure which, as has been said, would be a sort of social consummation for Russia.* Though this hope is still far from being realized, it would nevertheless be unjust not to acknowledge that attempts have been made towards improvement; moreover, obstacles difficult to be overcome suspend the effects of the imperial will.

Serfage is not of such remote antiquity in Russia as is generally imagined; it was established there at a period when the more civilized countries of Europe were beginning to effect its abolition, and was only completed in the time of our fathers or even in our own. "We know," says Karamzin,† "that in Russia, from time immemorial, the peasants have been in the enjoyment of civil liberty, but without transmissible property,—of the liberty, at least, of passing, at the end of a legally determined period, from place to place, from one proprietor to another, on condition of cultivating the land, partly for the lord of the manor, and partly on their own account, or of paying the tra-

* "La Russie s'est finalement formulée, elle s'est close vis-à-vis des autres, et le moment est venu de s'ouvrir chez elle aux exigences et aux garanties de sa vive et croissante civilization." "De la Russie et de la France," p. 306. See in the Notes and Explanations, Note (15), how this author considers the great question of the emancipation of the serfs.

† "Histoire de la Russie," t. ix. ch. v.

ditional rent." Doubtless the laws of Jaroslaff already regulated the relations between the masters and the serfs; but they related to a kind of separate bondage, and did not extend to the great mass of the rural population, which, generally speaking, was free even in the time of Foëdor Joannovitch, at the close of the sixteenth century.

There was, however, a distinction to be made: the peasants were of two different classes, some being serfs (*khlop*), and the others free (*krestianine*). The serfs were the less numerous class. They were either absolute and hereditary serfs (*polnyié*), or serfs by written agreement (*kabalnyié*).* Both were, themselves and families, the property of their lord; only, the serfs, by written agreement, recovered their liberty at their lord's decease. The men of this class were called *krepki*, the strong and hardy.

The simple peasant (*krestianine*) was free, but, as we have said, without property. His existence was miserable, and his position very often inferior to that of the *khlop*, kept at his master's expense, when he was unable to provide for his wants himself. Accordingly, the *krestianine* was frequently reduced to part with his liberty to secure a livelihood equal to that of the *khlop;* in that case, he made with some proprietor, either for himself alone, or for himself and his children, an arrangement similar to that by which the *khlop* was bound, the period of which was determined beforehand. At the end of that time he became master of his person again, could remove to another village, and from one establishment to another.

* From "kabala," a writing or contract.

This right was annulled by laws, enacted during the reign of Foëdor, by Boris Godounoff, in 1592 and 1593: peasants engaged by contract were declared to be the perpetual property of their lords; they were compelled to remain for ever in the places for which their names were set down in the registers of *revision* or census; and in 1597 another ukase forbade those who had engaged themselves for a term, to redeem themselves by paying back the sum stipulated as the price of their engagement. Nay, more, the peasants who had disposed of their persons by contract were not alone affected by these laws, dictated perhaps by good intentions, but still iniquitous. They extended even to free men, who, without having signed any engagement, happened to be in the service of the lord of the manor. When they had been there more than six months, they were obliged to remain for ever; and when their period of service was shorter, all the advantage they obtained was, the permission of choosing between their lord and another. They could lay no claim to the right of being their own masters.

This measure produced extreme irritation among the peasants: in several places they protested, by running away, against the tyranny inflicted on them by the government; but misery shortly after drove most of them back to their homes. Nevertheless, St. George's day, the date when the new regulation was put into execution, is still considered as unlucky among the inhabitants of the rural districts. Greedy, cunning, persuasive, and remarkably eloquent, the Russian is born for traffic; among all the various callings, there is none that pleases him better than that of a pedlar or re-

tail dealer in the streets ; he likes also that of coachman or waggoner, and, in general, all those ways of life in which much activity is combined with moderate labour. Agriculture, a fatiguing, monotonous, and rigid occupation, is but little to his taste ; it wearies him, and he is ever ready to escape from it.

At the time of which we are speaking, discontent was silenced by force of arms.* The new system was continued, only a few modifications being made in it, in 1601, relatively to peasants of the children of boïars and other small proprietors.† In what related to great properties, those of nobles, functionaries, or the clergy, the measure was maintained. The die was cast ; and the peasant was to remain rooted to, and, as it were, a part of, the soil.‡

* A remedy which it has been necessary to employ for the same purpose several times since, especially in our own time, as the reader may have observed. The Russian peasant, though he may seem to be resigned to bondage, entertains, nevertheless, a lasting rancour against his lords ; and his feelings towards them were conspicuously displayed after the departure of the French from Moscow in 1812. "There was," says an eye-witness, "a singular inclination to do mischief, for mischief's sake, and a ferocious hatred displayed towards the nobility. . . . . The Russian serfs made no more distinction than the French peasants had done, during the revolution, between the good lords and the bad : they committed horrible havoc in every castle without exception, unless indeed the manager of the domain was esteemed, &c." "Histoire de la Destruction de Moscou, en 1812, trad. de l'Allemand," p. 177. . . . . "The insurrection likewise broke out on the estates of Prince Joussoupoff. The peasants did not set fire to them, but they pillaged all the goods, and broke to pieces the statues that ornamented the gardens. . . . The peasants replied only by dreadful threats to every expostulation." P. 178.

† See Karamzin, t. x. ch. 1.

‡ A ukase of Vassili Chouïski (March 5th, 1607,) confirms the measures taken by this czar's predecessors.

In Russia-Minor serfage did not exist any more than in Russia-Major :

This was a real revolution, strange in this respect, that its direction was diametrically opposite to what was being done in the rest of Europe, where authority sided with the *clown* (*manant*) against the noble, his lord, and inclined towards the emancipation of that class, oppressed and overwhelmed with burdens of every description. It arrested the progress of civilization, which was everywhere else accelerated by the efforts of the government, and it prepared serious difficulties for the autocrat, now ashamed to behold his country so far behind the age, without believing himself able, notwithstanding his power, to abolish suddenly the effects of a legislation on which immense interests are founded.

What aim had Boris in view in enacting these laws? For they were not intended as an act of tyranny on his part, proceeding from mere caprice.

The power of the czar, and the whole military system in force since Joann III. Vassiliévitch, had for its principal foundation the petty nobles and the children of the *boïars*. Parcels of lands had been allotted to them, and, in return, they were obliged to take up arms, in time of war, and join the forces of the czar, attended by a few followers on foot or on horseback.* The government, therefore, had need of them,

it was not introduced there till 1783, under Catherine II. Accordingly, the peasants appear there to be still more disposed to revolt against their lords. We had a terrible instance of this in 1845. Count Apraxin, a rich proprietor, had exasperated the peasants on his domains by the harshness with which he treated them; at length, being weary of this oppression, they revolted and set fire to the castle. The count's unfortunate lady perished in the flames with all her family; he himself managed to escape at first, but the peasants, obstinate in their revenge, took him again and killed him.

* See Karamzin, t. vi. ch. vii.

and it was important to prevent their being impoverished, if they were to remain in a condition to fulfil their duties towards the crown. For this reason, it was necessary to prevent their being deprived of hands requisite for cultivating their lands, or their paying for them at too high a price. Now, at the time of the new laws, the peasants, urged by the desire of improving their generally miserable condition, had willingly decided to forsake their villages to go and settle in countries recently conquered from the Kanats of Kasan, Astracan, or others,—countries still thinly populated, and where immense domains had been disposed of in favour of a few powerful personages, kniaz, boïars, or members of the clergy. These great proprietors, to entice the peasants of the interior of the country, promised them advantages which they could not hope for from the petty nobles who were thus in danger of being forsaken. Bondage was the means devised to prevent this danger. But this enactment of serfage mitigated the extreme misery of the population in the rural districts; for henceforward the lords were bound to provide for their most pressing necessities. The physical existence of the masses was thus better insured, and this consideration would naturally have some weight in the estimation of the government.

Such were the considerations by which Boris Godounoff had been actuated. The bondage established by his law was not immediately attended with the severity of the present system. But when Peter I. introduced the system of recruiting into Russia, he made the nobles responsible for the impost in men, as they already were for that in money: then it was

that the peasants were no longer allowed anything like freedom of action; they were entered on a list, like the domestic serfs, and subjected to strict regulations. From that time the rural serfs were completely assimilated to the domestic ones.

Unfortunately, the loss of personal liberty is attended with that of independence of character: among the Russian peasantry, the latter had scarcely had time for development; but it was destroyed in the bud, and the servility of their vassals induced the masters to draw closer and closer the bonds by which they secure the obedience of men of this class. Bondage was also a premium paid to idleness and indifference. Being sure of not dying of hunger, possessing nothing of their own, and careless about acquiring a comfort of which a caprice of their master might deprive them, the serfs are not over-fond of work, neither are they under the powerful sway of emulation; but, degraded by oppression, they remain wedded to ignorance, chained to routine, and incapable of making any generous effort to improve their condition and share in the progress of civilization. A few, indeed, are exceptions to this general rule; and in Russia such honourable exceptions have been not unfrequently seen; but it is the mass that we must consider, and the mass remains in extreme abjection. It delights in that condition and has no wish to emerge from it, for then each would have to provide for himself, and could no longer be, as to-day, careless about the morrow. The Russian serfs, notwithstanding the favourable qualities with which they are endowed by nature, live from hand to mouth, working as little as possible, and satisfying their physical wants as they

can. In case of scarcity, it is for the lord to provide for their subsistence; the lord also protects them against the exactions of functionaries and the chicanery of every kind to which they may be liable, for *God is above and the czar afar off.** If they need consolation, they seek it in drink; the frequent use of brandy exercises over them a pernicious influence, but it deadens the sense of their sorrows, and imparts to them that overflowing gaiety the sight of which has so often rejoiced travellers, amid monotonous plains and under the murky sky of a country which one would think was devoted to melancholy.

However, we will not dwell upon the effects of servitude; they are well known, and we have no taste for useless declamation. Even under good masters, this situation, though more tolerable, is not free from serious inconveniences: now, in no country are the good the majority, and, as it has been said,† "in Russia there is this circumstance in what relates to the possessors of slaves, that, besides being exposed to all the temptations of tyranny, they are themselves hardened by the oppression they suffer from superior authorities."

Everybody will perceive that the emancipation of the serfs is one of those cases of necessity for the Russian government, which we may attempt to avoid, but cannot ultimately elude. From the very commencement of this century, Alexander had shewn himself convinced of this truth; not only did he enact

* Bogh vyssoko, tsar daloko.

† "Révélations sur la Russie," t. i. p. 112. See also on the condition of the serfs, "Golovin's La Russie sous Nicolas 1er, p. 254, *et seq.*, as well as Le Clerc, Coxe, &c.

several laws for the benefit of the serfs,* but he endeavoured also to render some of the great proprietors of his empire favourably disposed towards the work of enfranchisement. Actuated by the desire of pleasing him, or yielding to a transient enthusiasm, many sacrificed a part of their rights; but these were only isolated acts; the emperor, according to his nature, lacked perseverance, and his generous attempt produced no remarkable result.†

To Nicholas was transmitted this important task, among so many others: it was handed down to him with all its difficulties, and, from the very first day of his reign, these mutinies of the peasants, of which we have just spoken, must have forced upon his mind the urgency of a solution.

But great reforms are not the work of a day: in that career, time is the necessary, the indispensable auxiliary of even the most benevolent intentions. The trumpeting forth of a law or an ordinance will not suffice to dissolve and renew relations between the cultivator and the proprietor. A question which has often been asked, is, what would Russia do the day after her act of enfranchisement, with her 43,000,000 of serfs, without either patrimony, capital, land, or implements of labour, accustomed to the carelessness and indifference of bondage, and now abandoned to independence, that is to say, to misery? "Though she threw down every barrier," has ever been the reply, "the

* For instance, the ukase of the 20th of February, 1803.

† From the commencement of the century to the year 1830, only 24,344 serfs have received their liberty; but enfranchisement has taken place completely in the Baltic provinces In Finland, serfage never existed.

new citizens could neither contribute to the general wealth nor share in it; these freed men would be exposed to wander about on the earth, like bands of wolves over the snow, without knowing where, or how, or at what hour they should find their subsistence."

But whatever could be immediately done, Nicholas took care not to neglect; and this was to improve the condition of the peasants of the crown and its dependencies, to regulate it and render it as permanent as possible. It is necessarily to this great division that enfranchisement ought first to be applied: there it is that the first example ought to be given, and there also will doubtless be furnished the proof of the possibility and safety of such a measure.

This measure is being prosecuted, and with entire success. In an official act, the peasants of the crown have already been declared free people.* This appellation was perhaps premature; however, being now hereditary tenants of their huts and fields, the men of this class participate in the advantages of property, and are progressing steadily towards a complete emancipation. Industry and commerce are contributing to improve their condition, which, generally speaking, can no longer be termed unhappy. There are no field-labourers nor beggars among them; each man cultivates his own portion, and pays only his legal rent. He is able to acquire property by his savings, and he co-operates in the election of the chiefs charged with the administration of the districts.

A numerous class of free agriculturists is gradually forming, prepared for this condition by comfort and an

* South ludi volnii.

elementary instruction received in popular schools. This class comprises, as we have seen, about two-fifths of the whole number of the serfs, and it is daily augmenting by the reannexation to the estates of the crown of lands that are mortgaged to it as loan securities, and which their proprietors find themselves obliged to abandon to it.*

It was with a view to effect this great result, and the better to concert and carry out the measures that would conduce to it, that a ukase of the 8th of January, 1838, as we shall presently see, created the "ministry of the domains of the empire," separate from that of the finances.

Moreover, Nicholas bestowed a like serious attention upon the general legislation respecting the serfs. We shall not speak here of the two ukases of the 2nd (14th) of April, 1842, and the 12th (24th) of June, 1844, which establish a well-defined distinction between the domestic serfs and the peasant serfs, protect both the former and the latter against arbitrary treatment, prepare the transformation of the latter into free peasants only, "with duties to fulfil," and give their masters a salutary warning on the necessity of regulating in a friendly spirit the condition of their vassals before they escape from them by the very nature of things. These two great legislative acts which, united together, would almost deserve to be

* The ostentation of the families of the nobility makes them run into debt. "Should a Russian noble be pressed for money, the government accommodates him with it by accepting a mortgage, which his folly generally disables him from redeeming, so that the *serfs* escape from his power." "Révélations sur la Russie." t. i. p. 134.

called a "charter for peasants," belong to a very recent period, which we will not for the present consider. But what proves the monarch's attention to have been directed to the fundamental point as soon as he was firmly seated upon his throne, is a ukase enacted in the month of August, 1827, on which we must say one word.

Till then the proprietors had been allowed an exorbitant privilege: whenever they wanted to get rid of one or more of their serfs, they were able to transport them into Siberia, without any other form of process than an authorization obtained from the local administration. The emperor rightly judged this privilege to be incompatible with a legal state, properly understood, and limited it until it should be possible to suppress it entirely. By virtue of a resolution of the council of the empire, it was enacted that, in future, this privilege could be exercised only on the following conditions:— It must be requested of the governor-general by a petition, accompanied with a certificate from the government-marshal of the nobility, who must attest that the serf designed for transportation really belongs to the master who wishes to inflict this punishment upon him; it may not be inflicted if the serf be more than fifty years of age, lest his supposed faults be nothing more than a pretext to get rid of him at a time when old age and infirmities might cause him to be only a useless burden; he must not be separated from his wife, nor from his children under five years of age; the master will also be obliged to furnish him with good clothes for his journey, and to provide for his maintenance till he arrives at the place of transportation.

This resolution, dictated by a feeling of humanity, was doubtless no great benefit; but, as a simple prelude to a more extensive legislative work of a higher aim, it signalizes the first steps of the monarch in the very laborious and dangerous career upon which he has since entered.

May he succeed in arriving at the goal proposed! His contemporaries are there waiting to applaud him; and the Genius of civilization is standing ready to adorn his brow with one of her most glorious crowns!

Law, regular justice, and the emancipation of the serfs, such were the first wants of the country, and, as we have just seen, they are far from being all satisfied, for the task is immense; and the longest, most active and pacific reign might not be sufficient to complete it. And yet it embraces only a part of the reforms upon which it is urgent to enter, if there be any wish to secure for Russia an honourable position among the countries of Europe. In these, as with her, the worship of the golden calf doubtless prevails at the present day; but the manners of the people have nevertheless preserved a strong impression of morality; a certain decency still supports the efforts of integrity in its struggle against evil temptations, and, in spite of the contagion of the example given by the spirit of intrigue, the love of riches, and the thirst for power, individual dignity has not ceased to be an object of admiration and respect to all. Consequently, it is still permitted to propose those countries as models to Russia. To the ulterior reforms desirable in that country, next belongs a serious organization of public instruction, substituting a modest reality, rich in re-

sources, for the vain display of deceitful appearances; and the regeneration of the clergy, whose co-operation, indispensable to the government in the task of popular education, is almost totally wanting in the present state of things. These two vital questions are most worthy of being seriously examined, next to those which have engaged our attention in this chapter; but as they are not directly connected with the facts of this first period of the reign of which we are sketching the history, we reserve the examination of them for another part of these labours.

CHAPTER V.

DIPLOMACY AND FUNERAL POMP.—DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

SINCE the 5th of May 1821, that memorable day on which the Emperor Napoleon ended his astounding and eventful career, the death of no sovereign had caused so much sensation as that of his rival in power, with whom he had, for a moment, the idea of sharing the world; a rival whom the French conqueror doubtless surpassed in sublimity of genius, but who had an advantage over him in amiable qualities, and that potent charm which deep sensibility, sincere respect for human dignity, and a certain sentimentalism ever inspire, when they are found united to majesty and power. His death had been keenly felt in every quarter. The grief of all the members of the imperial family of Russia was especially shared by the two sovereigns, the personal friends of the deceased; but the other reigning families likewise manifested the utmost regret; nay, their very subjects, less unjust than they are commonly supposed to be, shared also in this mourning of the courts; they did homage to Alexander's benevolence and suavity of manners, to his generous acts, and to the noble part he had performed in the struggle between Europe and a gigantic foe whom he, for his part, would never have conceived the idea of chaining, after

his defeat, to a miserable rock in the Atlantic Ocean. In Europe, public opinion was unanimous in his praise, and, among the French people, in spite of the fury of party spirit, not one dissentient voice was heard when Charles X., in opening the legislative session of 1826, (January 31st), pronounced these words: "Death has just arrested, in the middle of his career, one of our most magnanimous allies; my heart has been deeply affected by that loss." Frederick William III., older by seven years than the friend of whom he had been so suddenly deprived, had been overwhelmed with grief on receiving the fatal news. He was beforehand with all the other sovereigns in the manifestation of his sentiments. By his order his second son, Prince William, an intimate friend of the new autocrat,* departed immediately for St. Petersburg, and a religious ceremony was celebrated at Berlin, with great pomp, in the presence of the king, and the Prussian regiment that bore the name of the Emperor of Russia. At this ceremony they pronounced his funeral panegyric, and, a second time, on another less direct occasion a few days later, the following words were uttered from the pulpit: "What a brilliant example, but now hidden from the world, have we before us! A great and powerful emperor, a well-tried and humble Christian, the faithful ally and beloved friend of our king, the friend of

* Now known by the title of Prince of Prussia and heir presumptive to the crown; he has remained faithful to the same sentiments. He is considered at the court of Berlin, as the head of the Russian party whose cause his brother, King Frederick William IV., better inspired, has often deserted, without, however, his daring to take any decisive step in the matter, unless we consider as such the recent promulgation of a constitution of states.

our nation, the benefactor of our country and of all Europe, known to each of us, revered, beloved, and now mourned,—mourned by the whole world!"

Having arrived on the 17th of January, 1826, at the winter palace, where his sister was henceforth to reign as a sovereign, the Prussian prince received the most fraternal welcome, and took his place in the intimate circle of the imperial couple. A few days after, there arrived another member of the family, the hereditary Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the husband of Alexandrina of Prussia, that sister of the empress whom we have already mentioned;* then, a short time afterwards, the Margrave Leopold of Baden, (now grand-duke,) a near relation to the Empress Elizabeth, whom he had not the satisfaction of seeing, for the severity of the season did not admit of his going to visit her at the other extremity of the empire; next, the Prince of Orange, (now king of Holland,) the husband of the Grand-Duchess Anna Paulovna, and the Arch-Duke Ferdinand d'Este, one of the grandsons of the Empress Maria Theresa, and brother of the last duke of Modena, heir of the celebrated Italian family, formerly in possession of the duchy of Ferrara. Ferdinand d'Este, a man of merit, but more of an Austrian than an Italian,† had formerly, under the orders of General Mack, taken a considerable part in the campaign so disastrous to Austria, of 1805; and at the

* Her husband, since then the reigning grand-duke, died in 1842. The brother of the Princess Hélène, he is known to have been not very favourably disposed towards her marriage with the late and much lamented Duke of Orleans.

† He has just been the object of a hostile demonstration at Pisa, (March, 1847.)

time of the surrender of Ulm, he had fought his way through the French army. Next, in 1809, he had struggled in Poland against Poniatowski and Dombrowski; and, lastly, he had had the superior command of the Austrian reserve in the year 1815. At the period to which our history relates, he held the rank of general of cavalry; but, since then, he has been promoted to that of field-marshal. On his arrival at St. Petersburg he was received in the most distinguished manner, as well on account of his personal qualities, as of that illustrious court, which, by such a choice, desired to give to that of Russia a signal testimony of its sympathy.* As to the heir to the throne of the Netherlands, his own private feelings, far more than political decorum, had made him hasten to the spot destined to receive the ashes of Alexander. These two brothers-in-law had been united by the bonds of sincere friendship. A former visit of the Prince of Orange had caused him to be dearly remembered at St. Petersburg; now everybody was affected at seeing him again; he was welcomed with every mark of affection, and the exchange of mutual consolation divested of a part of their sadness those early days of mourning, still far distant from the day on which the interment was to take place, but till which the prince was, nevertheless, determined to remain.

At the same time, envoys extraordinary had arrived from most of the courts of Europe: General Viscount de Saint Priest, the French ambassador at Berlin, had

* Among other honours conferred upon the archduke, he was appointed commander of the huzzars of Izoum, since then called Archduke Ferdinand's.

received orders to represent his country on that occasion, and had repaired to the capital of the north almost as soon as Prince William. The envoy of Würtemburg, an allied court, was not behindhand on his part, any more than the envoy of Bavaria, whose choice had fallen upon Field-Marshal Prince Wrede, the unfortunate hero of the battle of Hanau. The young emperor shewed himself very sensible of these universal testimonies of sympathy, earnestly and gracefully expressed. "The allied courts," says an article in the "French Gazette of St. Petersburg," "are now hastening to honour the memory of the Emperor Alexander, who remained till his last moment the depositary of their unbounded confidence, by the unanimous expression of the most affectionate sentiments towards his august successor."

"The British government," continued the semi-official journal, "has likewise shewn all the importance it attached to the choice of a representative on this solemn occasion. It has chosen one of the heroes of the age, the illustrious captain who completed the destruction of Napoleon on the field of Waterloo, and who thus rendered the name of Wellington for ever inseparable, in the annals of history, from the name of Alexander I., *the principal author of European deliverance.*"*

The choice of the Whig cabinet of George IV. had indeed fallen upon the most considerable man in the three united kingdoms. The circumstance of his being a Tory had not appeared to them any obstacle: for, at that period, this party had not yet come to an

* "Journal de St. Petersburg," 1826, No. 13.

open rupture with Canning, a minister who was soon to shew himself more liberal than his previous career could have led people to presume. Having been loaded with favours by the deceased emperor, Lord Wellington was, at that moment, the only field-marshal of Russia:* nobody could be more acceptable to the young czar.

As to the rest, this choice was not dictated solely by courtesy. Like all the different cabinets, generally speaking, that of St. James had received the most amicable overtures from Alexander's successor. Count Nesselrode's circular had informed it of the pacific intentions of the Emperor Nicholas. Nevertheless it felt some alarm about the affairs of the east, to which the attention of the whole world was turned, as the difficult point of the great European questions, and at that moment the only one that interested diplomacy; for the intervention of France in Spain to quell the revolution, and restore to Ferdinand VII. the free exercise of his will, was an accomplished fact, the consequences of which were no longer to be dreaded.

It is well known with what unexpected forbearance Alexander, restrained by Austria, had suffered the tardiness of the Divan in giving satisfaction to his just complaints concerning the principalities on the Danube and the reparation due to the Russian commerce for the losses it had suffered; the czar must have needed great self-possession to abstain from taking a part in the deadly struggle commenced between the Greeks, weary of their secular slavery, and the Ottomans, their op-

* Sacken and Wittgenstein, as we have said, held at that time only the rank of general-in-chief.

pressors, in whom the old Mussulman fanaticism had revived. Under the new sovereign, young, energetic, and perhaps ambitious, there was reason to fear lest the season of concessions should appear to have passed away, and that it would be impossible for the Holy Alliance to check any longer the Russian colossus, impatient to rush upon the South, where co-religionists, abandoned to slaughter, were stretching forth their supplicating hands towards him for succour. Indeed, Nicholas was determined to cause his rights and the christian name to be respected. England, therefore, deemed it indispensable to enter into a serious negotiation with his cabinet, and, taking advantage of a mission of condolence and ceremony, for this purpose, Canning caused the mission of conveying to Russia the expression of the regret of George IV. to devolve on the Duke of Wellington, whom his high renown, his well-established character, and his services—rendered not only to the British empire but to all the powers formerly allied against France—invested with a spell that gave importance to every word he uttered. Canning had wisely perceived that to put an end to a murderous warfare which Europe was disgusted to see prolonged, and to prevent Russia from taking her position, according to her well-known policy, as arbiter of Greece, there was only one way left, which was, to recognize the independence of that christian country, whose very name, setting creeds aside, was already exciting the sympathies of every nation. His arguments had overcome the scruples of the future head of the Tories, not less familiarized at that time with parliamentary strategy and diplomacy than with the operations of the

battle-field.* He consented to lend his support to a cabinet with the policy of which his own did not altogether agree, and repaired to the continent, accompanied by his brother in arms Lord Fitzroy Somerset, whom a cannon ball, by depriving him of one arm, in the Spanish war, had forced to exchange the career of arms for that of diplomacy.

All the newspapers of the time spoke of the welcome given at Berlin, not only by the king but by the whole population, to the conqueror of Salamanca and Vittoria, or, more properly speaking, to the man to whom the Prussians were indebted for their share of glory in the battle of Waterloo.

Frederick William III. treated him as a friend, gave sumptuous festivals in honour of him and loaded him with presents. Field-Marshal Gneisenau, the governor of Berlin, went to pay him a visit at his hotel, at the head of the most celebrated Prussian generals. In Russia, he was not received with less show of enthusiasm : general officers, despatched as far as the frontier to meet him, conducted him on the 2nd of March to St. Petersburg, where a mansion beside the palace of the hermitage (in the street Millionne) had been prepared for his reception. Nicholas and the imperial family set no bounds to their politeness towards him :

* As a general, Lord Wellington has just been estimated in a manner, in our opinion, very exact in M. Charles Lacretelle's " Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire." According to the estimation of that academician, the hero of the Spanish war is " a general of excellent understanding, phlegmatic, and tenacious ; proceeding not by enthusiasm, but by order, discipline, and slow combinations ; trusting but little to chance, and employing about him all the popular and vindictive passions from which he is himself exempt."

not only were the honours due to his rank of Russian field-marshal, with which he was invested, paid to him, but he was placed on an equal footing with the princes, and he was constantly seen by the side of the sovereign. Nicholas feasted his guest as far as the general mourning permitted; he frequently appeared with him in public, as if himself to present him to the inhabitants of his capital; he shewed him much confidence, and wished to have his opinion on the great political questions, perhaps even on some of those which concerned the interior of his empire. The people, regulating their conduct by their master's example, gave a no less warm reception to the celebrated foreign general. Lord Wellington could not appear in the streets of the town without the crowd pressing around him to form a guard of honour.

However, it cannot be said that his outward appearance produced a very favourable impression. Still suffering from a late indisposition, he appeared thin; his extremely aquiline nose stood out far too prominently on his long and rather sunburnt face, and his features, all strongly marked, were not devoid of a certain air of pretension. On the whole, the person of this celebrated man was anything but imposing; nor was there the aid of a splendid military costume to improve this appearance. In his promenades, where he was seen most frequently on foot, in the manner of a private individual without any kind of display, at most being followed at a distance by an elegant *droschki* driven by the emperor's second coachman, he was constantly dressed in a black frock-coat, and wearing a small round hat. On state occasions, instead

of the English red coat worn by the officers of his suite, he wore the grand uniform of Russian field-marshal, with the riband of the order of St. Andrew over his right shoulder. Alexander had made him a present of a complete military uniform out of his own wardrobe: whether out of respect for the memory of that prince, or to pay his court to the new sovereign, the duke had no alteration made in it, and the dress, the dimensions of which had been taken for the full figure of a fine man, made the spareness of his limbs still more conspicuous. Yet all this would perhaps have passed unnoticed, or, at least, not have been injurious to the impression which such a personage would naturally produce, had it not been for a few breaches of good behaviour, which he could not help committing towards some of the members of the higher nobility, and even, it is said, towards the emperor himself. Certain disobliging answers are quoted as having been returned by him to the latter. On the whole, there was no desire of pleasing in the language of this haughty Briton; he was considered rather morose than talkative; with the ladies, he did not consider himself obliged to take the touble of acting the gallant, and his offhand manner with everybody, not excepting the most gracious princesses of the court, appeared rude on more than one occasion.

If, for this reason, Lord Wellington did not obtain among the Russians all the success to which, with so great a name, it is doubtless lawful, but always dangerous, to lay claim, his self-love must nevertheless have been satisfied with the tokens of esteem which he received from the imperial family during the whole time

of his residence at St. Petersburg. At the funeral of Alexander, his rank was assigned immediately next to the princes; several grand reviews took place in honour of him, among others, that on the 31st of March, the anniversary of the entrance of the Russian troops into Paris, a review in which more than 35,000 men of the guard, in admirable style* filed off before the czar surrounded by his guests. Wellington stood near the Princes of Orange and William of Prussia; a little further off was seen the field-marshal of Bavaria, to whom great honours were likewise shewn. On that day Nicholas, fulfilling the intention of his deceased brother, ordered a silver medal to be distributed, stamped with that date (March 19th, according to the Julian calendar), to all the soldiers who had belonged to the Russian armies then in campaign;† and on returning to his palace, he addressed to the duke, *his* field-marshal-general, the following rescript:—

"In order to give you a token of my particular esteem for your high qualities and the eminent services you have rendered to all Europe, it will be very agree-

* The uniforms were superb, the ranks as if they had been drawn with a line, and the manœuvres of great precision. The cavalry distinguished itself very particularly; in few countries will any be found so well mounted. All the horses of the same regiment were of the same colour, and seemed to be of the same size. Those of the chevalier guards were black, those of the horse-guards brown, whilst the huzzars were mounted on some of a lighter brown. This equestrian splendour is not at the expense of the government. The officers in the cavalry of the guard are mostly very rich, and chosen precisely for this reason: they replace with their own money the horses which the government furnishes to the soldiers with finer ones, for which they often pay very dear. No other country, unless it be Hungary, could shew such a spectacle.

† It is worn tied to a riband with the colours of the orders of St. Andrew and St. George.

able to me that one of the regiments of my army should bear your name. Consequently, this very day, the 19th of March, which was signalized twelve years ago, by the taking of Paris and the end of an ever-memorable war, in which the good cause was indebted to you for such brilliant success, I have ordered that the regiment of infantry of Smolensk, formed by Peter the Great, one of the most distinguished in my army, and which has already been under your orders in France, be henceforth called *the Duke of Wellington's regiment*, desiring thereby to give you a proof of my constant and sincere well wishes."

Moreover, as a negotiator, the representative extraordinary of the court of St. James completely accomplished his object.

It is too early yet to enter, in this work, upon the Turkish question, to detail the complaints of Russia against the Porte, or to recount the hesitating conduct of the latter, and the different complicated questions arising from interests more especially relating to the Christians. When the time comes to inquire into the great question of the east, we shall see many principal facts arising amidst the discussion: the consolidation of the form of government adopted for the principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia;* the formation of a kingdom of Greece, guaranteed by three great powers;† a new war of the Muscovites, by whom the Balkan is at length reduced; against the Ottomans, demoralized

* Treaty of Akermân, October 7th, 1826.

† Treaty of London, July 6th, 1827, between France, England, and Russia. We will give, at the end of the text, Note (16), a few documents relating to the intermediate negotiations between this treaty and that of Akermân.

by the reform as much as by the incurable weakness of the empire, and the reviving confidence of the *rayahs*, still resisting without any great disadvantage during the first campaign ;* next, after this war, which was near setting all Europe in commotion, the establishment of a kind of Russian protectorship in Turkey, of which the famous treaty of Unkiar Iskelessi† will be the natural consequence, but not very durable in its effect, owing to the jealousy of the four other members of the European pentarchy. All this will captivate our attention in an extraordinary degree ; but at the period now under consideration these facts were only about to be prepared, and we should have abstained from thus speaking of them beforehand, if the mission of the Duke of Wellington had not been, as it were, their starting point.

Conferences were opened between him and Count Nesselrode. The ambassador proved himself a partisan of the Greeks, for whom the British cabinet had till then sehwed but little sympathy: he deplored the devastation committed in the Morea by the army of Ibrahim Pacha, landed by the Egyptian fleet, and took the opportunity of offering to Russia the co-operation of England, if the former had the intention of putting an end to such a sad state of things. The British squadron was ready, he said, to prevent the Pacha of Egypt from sending fresh assistance to his *suzerain*, and Sir Stratford Canning was to strive, in concert with

* The second brought about the treaty of Adrianople, concluded on the 14th of September, 1829. See, on this subject, the notice on Count Alexis Orloff in the Appendix to this volume, Note (2).

† On the 8th of July, 1833.

Russian diplomacy, to induce Mahmoud II. to consent to an arrangement with his rebel subjects. In this manner the war, the consequences of which it was impossible to calculate, was once more avoided, and the definitive solution of the question of the east, so full of difficulties and fraught with events, postponed to another period.

These conferences were communicated by Count Nesselrode to the emperor. The latter authorized his minister to encourage the overtures of the British cabinet, and had himself several conversations on this subject with his illustrious guest. But he made a clear distinction between the exclusively Russian question and that which the great powers might be called upon to settle in common, and thereby, without being aware of it, he separated his policy from that of the Emperor Alexander. His words were the programme of a new policy, more firm, more national, and less subordinate to that of the allied cabinets.*

Relatively, therefore, to the exclusively Russian question, the emperor rejected all interference: the point with him was to cause existing treaties to be executed, or to avenge his rights and interests, violated in so many ways by the Turks. That was entirely his own business, he said; he was resolved not to suffer

* It afterwards occasioned the rupture between the Russians and the Turks, and that war of 1828 and 1829, which gave so much displeasure to Austria, and which was nearly causing a quarrel between her and the autocrat. In one of his despatches of that time, Pozzo di Borgo speaks of the "inconceivable conduct of M. de Metternich;" which, in his opinion, is calculated "to pour upon Austria all the calamities of the war she was provoking against Russia, *without sparing her any*." But this belongs to the sequel of the history of the reign of the Emperor Nicholas.

them to trifle with him any longer; he declared he would get satisfaction immediately, even though he were obliged to have recourse to arms. However, he promised he would exact nothing beyond the treaties, nor go to such extreme measures as would be likely to compromise the existence of the Ottoman empire, which was still considered necessary to the tranquillity of Europe. Relatively to the second question, it was much less difficult to come to a friendly understanding. Russia appeared disposed to renounce the exclusive direction of the affairs of the Greeks, provided that something were at length done to prevent such disgraceful massacres, that the devastations committed by the Arabs of Ibrahim were brought to an end, and that the Christian name, disgraced and vilified by such culpable inaction, were again restored to honour in the East.

On these conditions it was possible to establish an alliance between the two courts: accordingly, the Duke of Wellington laid the foundation of it, by signing with the chief of the college of the empire, on the 4th of April, two days before his departure,* a preliminary protocol on Greece, an important act, which contained the principle of the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827. But this protocol, the effects of which went far beyond the wishes of England, by no means prevented Russia from prosecuting with the utmost vigour, as she had announced, the redress of her private wrongs. She intimated her *ultimatum* to the Porte, and at length ob-

* He departed on the 6th, after a stay of five weeks. The emperor made him a present of a magnificent looking-glass, 170 inches high and 63 broad (Russian measure), one of the most remarkable products of the manufactory of St. Petersburg.

tained the satisfaction required. The treaty of Akermân, of which we shall give an account in the sequel of these Studies, by calming the apprehensions of England relatively to a rupture between the two powers, moderated also her zeal for the cause of the Greeks, and perhaps she would then no longer have remembered the protocol of the 4th of April, if Russia, resolved on carrying it out, had not taken care to assist the memory of her ungrateful ally, whose foreign policy was still directed by Mr. Canning and the Whigs.

It is to Russia that the honour of the memorable treaty of London, the foundation and safeguard of the independence of the modern Greeks, principally belongs. France adhered to it with perfect good faith.

These diplomatic transactions, important, as we see, on account of the events to which they gave rise, took place very shortly after the funeral pomp, amid which the mortal remains of the Emperor Alexander, which at length reached his capital, were lowered into the vault of St. Peter and St. Paul, to repose by the side of his ancestors. At that moment, after having been oppressed by long and painful expectation, the court of Russia seemed to breathe more freely; returning security allowed them to think of another ceremony of a more joyous nature that of the coronation at Moscow. But the state of the public mind, during the previous period of mourning and anxiety, is interesting to study, and even the particulars of the funeral journey from Taganrog to the citadel of St. Petersburg, though rather physical and minute, will not perhaps appear unseasonable in the intimate his-

tory (which is at once a chronicle and a picture of manners) of a country where men, customs, localities, and everything else, still require to be shewn in their proper light. Let us, therefore, step back for a moment, in order to witness the mournful spectacle of the imperial funeral, the imposing procession of which cast its black veils on two different occasions over the capital of the north, then buried in snow, and deprived of the sight of its beautiful river, still imprisoned under the ice.*

Everybody was waiting in the greatest anxiety for the day on which that ceremony was to take place. The government had surrounded itself with imposing forces, and every measure of precaution had been taken : the functionaries who had charge of the public safety were strictly enjoined to be punctual at their posts, and the governors of provinces not to quit theirs. The public were no less a prey to extreme uneasiness. To give an exact idea of these emotions—in which the author himself participated—he asks permission to introduce in this place a few pages from his diary, written on the spot, and under the influence of the general anxiety.†

"The carnival has been particularly dull this year, and we are now at the first day of Lent,‡ to be followed by a seven weeks' abstinence, without there

* The ice of the Neva did not break up till the night of the 4th of April. However, that winter was less severe than usual. In Note (17) of these Studies, &c., in the volume, we shall say a few words about the ceremony with which this breaking of the ice is accompanied.

† This extract is dated March 3rd (15th), 1826, Ash Wednesday.

‡ We shall speak further (in ch. vii.) of the four great periods of fasting in Russia.

having been any symptom of public recreation during the *butter week* (*syrnaia nédélya* or *maslianitsa*), which precedes this great fast, and which, with its Russian mountains, its swings (*katchéli*), its shows of jugglers and their exhibitions, its stalls for brandy and victuals, in which the *black people* (*tchornii narod*) so delight, and its horse-races on the frozen bed of the Neva, is generally so noisy. Even in family circles the amusements which this season of extravagant mirth is privileged to carry on every year, have been prohibited. Among the upper and wealthier classes, everybody still wears mourning; the dismal dresses of the ladies, and the black clothes and crape hat-bands of the men, both masters and servants, together with the funeral hangings of the coaches, forming so strong a contrast with the snow in the streets, diffuse here a sense of truly overpowering sadness. Besides this, so many illustrious or powerful families, wounded in their dearest affections, are awaiting in agony the decision of the destiny of one of their members! Moreover, an indefinable uneasiness, general, though without any certain foundation, so keeps every mind in check, that not only is joy banished from circles the most fond of pleasure, but, in town, scarcely any business is attended to; trade 'is dull, the funds are declining, and a stagnation, in short, is felt to be universally prevalent. This uneasiness supplants every other feeling. Doubtless a few devoted and faithful friends continue to mourn for the late emperor; but since the two-fold revolt, and the arrests by which they have been followed, the manifestation of public mourning has been declining. On one hand, people are turning towards

the new star rising in the horizon; on the other, a re-action of opinion is taking place relatively to the prince under whose administration so many elements of disorder had collected; but the greatest preoccupation in every mind is unquestionably the absence of security. Awkward reports are in circulation, and the most absurd stories invented: the public believe them without investigation, communicate them to one another, augmented by some new and improbable additions of their own, and everybody is waiting in evident trouble and breathless anxiety for the day when the mortal remains of Alexander are to arrive in this place. Some are speaking of new attempts against the life of the Emperor Nicholas; others are reviving the false reports that have been spread concerning Moscow, where public tranquillity has, nevertheless, not been troubled for an instant; where the plot, if it be true that it was to break out in that city, has been stifled at its birth; others, again, are imagining scenes of tumult and carnage as about to take place on the day of the solemnity; even sensible persons cannot help fearing lest that terrible day should afford the wicked an opportunity for realizing their criminal designs, and lest the general agitation should produce riots and commotion.

"There is, I hope, much exaggeration in all these misgivings; but if the people are already speaking of fires, robberies, and depredations, who would venture to affirm beforehand that such fears are absolutely unfounded? In this respect we find ourselves here on dangerous ground. The populace is so numerous, so miserable, and so devoid of instruction and principles of morality, that it may well awaken the idea of dan-

ger.* Assuredly, in critical times like these, it is natural not to feel quite safe at the sight of such crowds of idle men addicted to drunkenness, who, ill-treated alike by foreigners and natives, entertain in their breasts a secret fury against the former; and being dissatisfied with their condition, are little interested in a state of things in which there is no acceptable room for themselves. The multitude of crown serfs employed at St. Petersburg in the different public services, in the works undertaken by the government, in mending and cleaning the streets, in the speedy execution of so many measures invented every moment by caprice in a country where the labour of the lower class is reckoned of no value; the infinite number of pedlars, hawkers of liquors, cakes, gingerbread, and bad fruit; and the no less numerous class of *podriadjiks*, or journeymen builders, of *isvoschtchiks*, or waggoners and coachmen, of knife-grinders, labourers, and stable-boys, are sources of impending danger to which it is impossible to remain blind. Men of all these classes flock hither; for it is difficult to conceive with what extreme facility their miserable existence is provided for by these men of every age, whether serfs or free peasants, attracted to St. Petersburg by the hope of making some small profits, of practising some trade, some productive calling, no matter whether honourable or not, by the hope at all event of finding an opportunity for the employment of their muscular strength, or their natural aptitude for every kind of work. Happily for them, these men have scarcely any wants, and their coarse food occasions but a very

* See Lesur, "Des Progrès de la Puissance Russe," p. 446.

slight expense. Black bread, half rye and half bran, stale cabbages, sometimes bad fish, with a handful of nuts, by way of dessert, is what composes their repast, and, provided the small glass accompany it, and they be not entirely without the dangerous stimulant of that abominable brandy, which is their darling passion,* nothing is wanting to complete their gaiety. They sleep in porters' lodges, pestilential and unventilated closets, in ante-rooms, stables, lofts, coach-houses, and wherever they are allowed just room enough for their bodies. Religion has done nothing to curb the violence of the passions of these men, so little removed above the brute creation; we shudder when we reflect on this total absence of principles joined to an extreme natural avidity, and an unconquerable inclination for intoxicating liquors. A second attempt like that which has just failed might abandon to the brutality of the *mougik*, the lives and fortunes of the peaceable and industrious inhabitants of this great city. Woe to them, if these wretches should ever burst the chains in which they are still bound by their superstition, their servile spirit, and their dread of the police, who maintain order in their ranks by dint of blows! Woe, if, some day or other, they be inflamed with the desire of revenging themselves for the harshness with which they are treated, the mortifications inflicted upon them, and the frequently systematical humiliation to which they are subjected!

"Another circumstance increases still more this uneasiness: the *boutotchniks*† or soldiers of police, a vile

* "Nowhere is drunkenness so general as in Russia."—Golovin, p. 87.

† From *boutka* (*boutique*), a *booth*, shop or sentry-box.

and coarse set of men, are drawn from this class and have all its vices. Often conniving with malefactors, whom it is their duty to watch and give up to the vengeance of the law, they share in their plunder and nightly depredations; public tranquillity is the least object of their care; like the others, they are champing the bit, till the day of vengeance, when they hope to settle accounts with their oppressors.

"Generally speaking, it is therefore not unreasonable to be on one's guard, to keep close at home and to be doubly vigilant. But the danger is increased by imaginary fears disseminated among the public. People are speaking of political plots, riots, and revolutions; they deny that the flames of sedition are entirely extinguished, or that its real stronghold is yet discovered; they still believe in the possibility of seeing realized those odious projects of a general pillage; they tremble for the life of the emperor and his family, and torment themselves in every possible way. The precautions which the authorities have taken, though a very evident, a praiseworthy condescension; the military forces that have been assembled, on account of the approaching funeral, in the city and its environs; 40,000 men of a guard now purged of the disaffected, and whose commanders, together with all they possess, belong to the monarch, and the vigilance of the government ought altogether tend, one would suppose, to tranquillize every mind. But to prove, on the contrary, in what agitation they still remain, I will here record a fact that has recently happened and which is a sort of parody on the Gunpowder Plot.

"A report had spread throughout the city that the

cellars beneath the church of Notre-Dame de Kasan were filled with barrels of this inflammable matter, and that everything had been prepared to blow up the emperor with his family, and the court, when they should be collected round the coffin of the deceased monarch; that even the bridge of Kasan outside would be blown up together with the crowd with which it would, at that moment, be thronged. This absurd invention, which the multitude fully believed, came to the knowledge of the autocrat who, very properly, did not disdain to make every inquiry. The subterraneous passages in question were let out to a merchant, who had deposited therein a vast quantity of wine; people had been engaged to work there for the preservation of the wine or for its removal, and this work was perhaps done also in the night. This was the sole foundation for all the stories that had been spread abroad. The emperor ordered the police to visit these cellars openly, to move the hogsheads and examine their contents. Crowds of inquisitive persons instantly surrounded the agents who, of course, found nothing but wine. They caused several casks to be taken out of the vault and rolled on the pavement, and they searched with much eagerness every corner of the cellars. But it was in vain for the police to pursue their labour: if a few acknowledged their mistake, the crowd obstinately persisted in it. Those hogsheads were nothing but barrels of gunpowder, they said; they had perceived matches and pieces of sulphur about them. By dint of repeating a falsehood, a liar at length believes it himself; and the suggestions of fear are those which take the firmest hold on the heart. The government had no

other course than to seal up the doors and windows of the cellars, to station a sentinel at every entrance, and to order that each end of the vaults of the bridge of Kasan should be partitioned off; yet, in spite of all these concessions to fear, several days elapsed before the reports subsided.

"Moreover, the emperor had been heard to say that he was not sure of his life for a moment, but that this consideration should not in the least alter his usual habits. Indeed, he rides out every day without any escort; a single *déntchik* or lackey occupies the seat behind his *droschki*. Nicholas is known every day more and more to be a brave man, as intrepid as he is wise; and it is not his fault if the public do not share the confidence with which he appears to be animated."

Such was the state of the public mind in the capital during the latter months of winter.

Meanwhile the funeral procession of Alexander was advancing from stage to stage throughout European Russia.* The length of the route it had to perform was, as we have said, 475 leagues. There had been

* We will trace its course, hoping, as we have said, that the reader will pardon us for the dryness of certain particulars, in consideration of the observations of manners attached to them, and of customs peculiar to Russia which the description of the ceremony will make known. Moreover, a few geographical and topographical notices will be found connected with the subject. The picture of the civilization of a country is founded on the union of elements of every kind, and in what relates to Russian civilization, we have considered it right to introduce into it certain particulars which do not strictly belong to history. We shall, therefore, describe in this place the funeral procession, just as we shall further on call the reader's attention to all the ceremonies of the coronation.

scarcely any instance in history of such a funeral procession. Frederick Barbarossa, St. Louis, a few other kings, and Napoleon, in our own time, had met their deaths in distant countries; but the transfer of their mortal remains, when it took place, was facilitated by the proximity of the sea, comprehended for the most part in the distance to be performed. In Russia, most of the sovereigns ended their lives either in their capital or its neighbourhood; and for many ages there was no instance to be quoted of any having died in a remote part of their dominions.

Compelled to separate from the inanimate remains of her husband, the Empress Elizabeth, who was unable to intrust this precious deposit to Prince Volkonski, bound by a sacred promise to remain with her, had chosen for its guard, Aide-de-camp-General Count Vassili Orloff Deniçoff, grandson and heir to that General Deniçoff, who was the companion in arms of Suwarrow, and who, from being a private Cossack, had risen to the rank of hetman of those warriors, and to the rank of general-in-chief.* Orloff Deniçoff† had distinguished himself in the campaigns from 1312 to 1814. He was a large proprietor on the banks of the Don, and was adored by the military population settled in that country. His merit rendered him worthy of the honour to which he was called by the noble widow. Under his orders, ten of the emperor's aides-de-camp performed the service. The procession was escorted

* The same may be said of Count Platoff, of whom we shall speak a little further.

† He died in February, 1843, having then the rank of general of cavalry.

by detachments of troops, but its most glorious ornament was the population of the cities and country places flocking from all quarters, on its passage, in spite of the severity of the season, bowing respectfully before the coffin, kissing it, requesting the favour, which was granted, of drawing the car for a few minutes, and joining fervently in the funeral prayers.

Having started on the 9th of January from the convent of Alexander Newski of Jerusalem, which our readers may remember*, surprised at the very first station by a violent hurricane blowing at $7\frac{1}{2}^{0}$ R., and stopped more than once in its progress by the intensity of the cold, which, in the neighbourhood of Moscow, was not less than twenty degrees, the procession advanced slowly, at the rate of only thirty or forty verstes a day. On the 21st of January it reached Kharkoff, a town of Russia-Minor, known as the seat of a university; eight days after it made its solemn entrance into Koursk, and into Orel on the 2nd of February, the chief towns of two of the most fertile and populous governments in the interior of the empire; on the 9th of the same month it reached Toula, another flourishing city, celebrated for its manufacture of arms and its jewelry of steel inlaid with gold; and on the 15th of February, towards nightfall, it halted before the cathedral of the archangel Michael, at the Kremlin of Moscow.

The order of the procession was invariably the same. At night the body reposed generally in a simple village church, the faithful kneeling respectfully around,

* Since then, a monument has been erected there: it is a plain white marble sarcophagus, surmounted with a cross in black marble.

whilst the officers who guarded it relieved one another at stated intervals. In the cities it was received in the cathedral, and placed upon a *catafalco*, amidst the blaze of a thousand wax candles glittering upon the black hangings which covered the walls. This pomp had not been commanded by government; the municipal magistrates ordered it on their own authority, without assigning any bounds to the expense. Whenever the body was about to enter the territory of a government, it was received by the bishop or archbishop at the head of his clergy, by the governor-general or civil governor, and by the marshal of the nobility, accompanied by a deputation. The marshals of districts were likewise in attendance at their respective boundaries. The departure was ever accompanied with the tears and lamentations of the people: it grieved them to separate from those beloved remains, and, for the purpose of consecrating the memory of this mournful solemnity by acts of beneficence, alms were distributed to the poor, and misery was relieved. Thus, after having performed their last duty to their beloved monarch, the nobility of the government of Toula resolved to celebrate, apart from the general commemoration, funeral services in their temples during six weeks, and to distribute alms to the infirm and indigent throughout that space of time. In the town, the corporation of the citizens relinquished a sum of more than thirty thousand francs (1200*l.*), of arrears due by minors or poor fathers of large families; lastly, the company of the workmen at the manufactory of arms, by virtue of a resolution passed by its elders, erased from its registers a sum of 150,000 roubles lent,

some time before, to necessitous brethren, out of the 200,000 forming their fund of mutual relief. At Koursk, likewise, there had been, on the return of the authorities, a second funeral service, at the end of which a thousand poor people had been invited to a dinner, the expenses of which were defrayed by the governor and the nobility; pecuniary assistance had moreover been allotted to them. At Moscow, public charity was displayed in the same manner; besides which, the company of merchants made to the troops that were then escorting the procession, a present of a sum of 600*l.*, *to better their maintenance.*

The population of this ancient capital had gone forth to meet the funeral, as far as the village of Kolomensk, the birth-place of Peter the Great,* where they witnessed an imposing scene. At the approach of the body, the authorities, generals, and the people, fell upon their knees and remained for some time in silent prayer. The entrance into the town was made with much splendour, amid a prodigious concourse of people. The travelling car was replaced by a magnificent hearse, which halted in front of every church it met on its passage; and the clergy, after reciting the funeral prayers, approached and consecrated the coffin. This had been adorned with the imperial crown, as also with that of Poland, together with the old crowns of Siberia, Kasan, Astrachan, Georgia, and the Crimea, which had been brought from the Armoury-Palace (*Oroujeinaïa Palata*), a precious depository of national jewels and antiquities. Having arrived before that cathedral of

* According to general opinion; some authors, however, pretend that he was born at Moscow, or at the castle of Ismaïloff.

the Kremlin, in which repose all the ancient czars before Peter the Great, as also Peter II. who died at Moscow, and the youthful Dimitri Ioannovitch, the innocent victim of Boris Godounoff's ambition, the body was carried into that sanctuary, one of the most revered in the holy citadel, by generals, and aides-de-camp, and placed upon a sumptuous *catafalco*. The archbishop in his pontifical robes celebrated the funeral service; and the doors of the temple were opened to admit the crowding multitude, which soon thronged the narrow enclosure, but orderly, and in an attitude of deep devotion.* "It is impossible," says a journal, "to describe the innumerable crowds of people, during that day and the two following, any more than the fervour and piety with which every body approached to kiss the coffin."

It was easy to see on that occasion how the czar is identified with religion in the minds of the people: the honours done to his ashes call to mind the worship of the saints, which is generally practised with extreme devotion.† There was no perceptible difference: the

* The public authorities had not been without fear; they had sent out of the town a great number of *izvoschtchiks*, or street-coachmen, and had requested the manufacturers not to allow their workmen to go out all at the same time. The fire-engines were kept in readiness; *boutotchniks* were posted in many of the houses, and the town contained, moreover, 60,000 soldiers, with a park of artillery.

† Every Russian attached to his religion has generally in his house, for the most part in a corner facing the door of his principal chamber, the image of a saint, adorned with more or less costly materials, with a lamp, always burning, suspended before it. They say their prayers before this image every morning and evening, and after each meal. Nobody ever enters the apartment without bowing before it, and making the sign of the cross. To forget to pay this mark of respect to his saint, would be an insult to the master of the house. The Russians give the name of God (*Bog*) to their images of saints.

salvation of the soul of each appeared interested in the manner in which he fulfilled the duties prescribed in such cases. Besides, the spectacle of death is generally imposing to those simple souls whose natural instincts have not yet been weakened or subdued by the habit of reasoning. Death seems to the crowd like a door opening to eternity, and the voice that issues thence fills him with a salutary feeling of awe.

On the 18th of February, the funeral procession was conducted, with the same pomp, as far as the gate of Tver, so called from the name of the chief town of the adjacent government, to which the car was proceeding. At the moment of separation, the archbishop pronounced a few more edifying words. The most eager of the rural population were allowed to draw the *catafalco* from that gate to the palace Pétrofski;* then the coffin was replaced upon the travelling car, and the march was resumed with the escort reduced to its usual number.

On the 23rd they arrived at Tver, the ancient seat of a principality, for some time the rival of Moscow, and still one of the handsomest cities in the empire. There they remained till the morrow. On the 25th they entered Torjok. In commemoration of that day, the trade and corporation of the citizens of that small manufacturing town—where morocco is made in the oriental style, in a thousand different ways—relinquished to the poorer inhabitants a very considerable

* *Pétrofski Dvoretz*, an imperial residence situated in a monotonous plain about two miles from the city. In 1812, Napoleon took refuge there on quitting the Kremlin to escape the conflagration. We shall speak of it again in chapter vii.

sum of arrears, and engaged themselves to relieve old men and minors of their burdens, for a certain period, by paying their part of the public expenses. One of the following nights was passed at Vyschnii-Volotchok, the central point of a hydraulic system which joins the Neva to the Volga; and, on the 7th of March, the procession made its entrance into Novogorod, formerly called the Great, but which is now only a vast mass of huts grouped about a multitude of old churches, and where only a small number of tolerable streets impart to a few stone houses a certain appearance of prosperity. Here religion displayed its pomp in the ancient cathedral of St. Sophia.

Lastly, on the 10th of March, they arrived at Tsarsko-Sélo. There they were only five leagues and a half from the capital. The supreme marshal of mourning had come as far as that place to receive solemnly the charge of the coffin; he immediately placed on it the imperial crown, which had been brought with him in a carriage of state, and conducted the funeral as far as the chapel of the palace, formerly the magnificent abode of Catherine II.

The emperor and his mother, Maria Foëdorovna, had not waited at Tsarsko-Sélo for the funeral procession, which was bringing to one his brother, and to the other her son, so lately their joy and pride; they had gone forward to meet it as far as the quiet village of Tossna, the second stage beyond the town, in order to escape the prying gaze of so many witnesses at the moment of so melancholy a meeting. The coffin was opened at their request, but the face of the deceased was veiled, for it had already suffered much from the ra-

vages of death: they were, therefore, obliged to forego the sad consolation of beholding once more those beloved features before bidding them an eternal adieu. Alexander's august mother seized one of his icy hands, as though she would have warmed it in her own. This scene of tears and sobs must be left to the imagination, for we have not the courage to describe it.

Another and no less affecting scene took place on the morrow, in the chapel of the castle of Tsarsko-Sélo, where the body remained some days, awaiting the final preparations for interment. The crowds that had flocked from the town and the neighbouring districts, after having thronged all day long about the *estrade*, on which the coffin reposed, had ceased to be admitted; none remained in the sacred edifice but the soldiers on duty, and a few persons of the court, when the imperial family advanced hastily towards the *catafalco*. They all cast themselves sobbing by the side of the coffin, and for a moment there reigned an awful silence of speechless grandeur. The unhappy mother of the deceased emperor was leaning over the head of her son, dumb, motionless, and absorbed in her grief; and the Empress Alexandra, almost fainting, was obliged to be supported: Nicholas, though an affectionate husband, scarcely perceived it; his sorrowful features betokened the depth of his emotion, which was shared by the Grand-Duke Michael. The Prince of Orange, with one hand on the coffin, stood gazing mournfully on the ground; soon a flood of tears, which he attempted vainly to restrain, streamed from his eyes. All who were present felt affected by the scene.

Meanwhile, the immense preparations made for the

solemn entrance into St. Petersburg were terminated. A commission of mourning, appointed by the emperor, had foreseen and arranged everything. We have already mentioned its president invested with the title of *supreme marshal*,—doubtless, flattering to human vanity, but very presumptuous in presence of so great an example of the perishableness of our nature. This was Prince Alexis Kourakin,* one of the most considerable men in the country, well versed in the laws of etiquette, and very fond of pomp. The commission had employed a vast number of workmen, ordered buildings to be erected in the cathedrals and in the streets, issued regulations concerning the duty of the police, and published a long ceremonial in which everything was minutely calculated, with an infinite number of details and a geometrical symmetry, and wherein different duties were allotted to several thousand servants of the state, some of the most eminent of whom had been summoned from a great distance. †

* Brother of Prince Alexander Borissovitch, who was minister for foreign affairs under the Emperor Paul, and, from 1808 to 1812, Russian ambassador at Paris. The latter died in 1818; and his brother in 1829. Prince Alexis Borissovitch was, at the time of which we are speaking, chancellor of the Russian orders. He had been attorney-general (minister of justice and head of the cabinet) under Paul I., and minister for the home department, and member of the council of the empire under Alexander. He used to be quoted as the model of courtiers.

† The emperor took a part in all this; indeed, nothing was done without him; and to see what desperately minute proceedings are occasioned by such a *régime*, it is sufficient to glance over the pages of the "Journal de St. Petersbourg" of 1826, from No. 27. "The public ought not to be ignorant that the EMPEROR has ordered the arrangements, approved the designs, given the crown with his own hand, &c." We will spare the reader an account of such minute trifles; but they are

For some days past, St. Petersburg had assumed an aspect of a noisy, though, doubtless, funeral festival. The streets, free from the thick coating of ice, were cleaned and gravelled; posts were erected at intervals to mark the divisions of the procession; the houses were hung with black, the fringe forming white festoons beneath the windows; numerous scaffoldings were erected in front of the church porches before which the procession was to pass; the love of gain caused also many to be erected for the public; for, even among those who did not mind the expense, several could not find any room at the windows, balconies, doors, and flights of steps, and these privileged places were let out at exorbitant prices; lastly, around the cathedral of our Lady of Kasan, temporary guard-houses were erected, with a pavilion in the middle, intended to shelter the magnificent car on which the coffin was to repose, still conducted, as the travelling car had been, by Alexander's confidential coachman, the faithful Ilya (Elias), sad and melancholy on his seat, but satisfied to remain there to the last, after having endured, for the sake of his beloved master, the severity of a pitiless climate all the way from Taganrog.* The imagination was moreover struck,

characteristic, and, for this reason, we would not entirely pass them by in silence.

* As he wore a beard and the Russian costume, it had been at first considered that propriety did not admit of his being allowed to perform his vocation amid the ceremony displayed in the towns. It was said that a coachman of state or ceremony would be more proper. But Ilya, in despair, was so earnest in his entreaties, and offered with so much devotedness to make the sacrifice of his beard—that ornament so dear to Russians—in order to remain with his royal master's body, and to convey it to St. Petersburg; that he at length received permission to do

during those days of preparation, by the strange spectacle of a cavalcade galloping through the streets of the capital and halting in the public squares. The riders were heralds, wearing over a singular costume the distinctive emblems of mourning,* escorting secretaries of the senate, charged to read a proclamation relating to the funeral, and preceded by trumpeters, collecting the people in crowds by the sound of their instruments.

The body had already been transferred from Tsarsko-Sélo to the chapel of the small château of Tchesmé, the last station, whence it was to be conveyed to the capital on the 18th of March.

It was placed upon the car of state as early as seven o'clock in the morning, and the simple escort of Taganrog received for its complement an immense procession, covering a space of three miles. This procession, composed of all the public and municipal authorities, of different corporations, among which were seen men wearing caftans of honour, of public functionaries employed in every kind of administration, of pensioners of the crown establishments,—this procession, we say, thus composed, formed suddenly and by sections issuing from houses, designated beforehand. At ten o'clock, the emperor, in full uniform, mounted his

so. The King of Prussia honoured himself by decorating this faithful servant with the civil medal.

* "Such as they have been determined by the ceremonial for the great mourning, *confirmed by H. M. the Emperor*.... Horses equipped with mourning hangings *had been furnished* to the heralds and secretaries *by the court stables*." The semi-official French journal abounds with details of this nature. One would suppose that in Russia the greatest care is taken that the emperor and the court be not lost to view for a single instant.

horse; accompanied by his illustrious guests, surrounded by a brilliant staff, and followed by the princesses and children of the imperial family in carriages, he rode quickly, for the most part at a gallop, but nevertheless in a majestic manner, throughout the immense line of road, protected on each side by regiments of the imperial guard in magnificent costume and drawn up three ranks deep. Without pausing, he saluted these troops with his hand and his voice, addressing them with that customary compliment we have mentioned, to which a whole battalion responds, like one man, and keeping true time. He rode along thus as far as the barrier, where, like all his suite and every person present, he muffled himself in a long black cloak which, added to a large slouched hat, no longer left any outward signs of imperial majesty.

The car was seen approaching, drawn by eight horses caparisoned with black, and led by the hand by officers of the stables likewise dressed in long trailing cloaks; and the dazzling white plumes with which it was surrounded, shone bright in the distance. It was surrounded by the generals and aides-de-camp of the deceased monarch or of his successor, and sixty pages, bearing torches, walked on either side. It was preceded by the clergy, forming a long procession behind the choristers of St. Alexander Nevski and Our Lady of Kasan. All these priests, with bushy beards, some wearing mitres, and others their long flowing hair, clad moreover in their richest mourning ornaments, held lighted wax candles in their hands, or carried before them their holy images which, plated with gold and silver, here replace those that the Catholic Church dis-

plays on her banners or presents in embossed figures to the respect of her faithful. The last of all was the arch-priest Féodotoff, who had received the emperor's confession at the point of death. At the sight of this procession, the members of the holy synod, the clergy of the court, the military governor-general and the commandant of the fortress of St. Petersburg, with the suite, advanced to meet the imperial remains. It was noon when a discharge of artillery announced that the car had arrived at the gate of the city.

Nicholas received in a solemn manner the body of his predecessor; and, immediately commanding the march to be continued, he followed the car throughout the city as far as Our Lady of Kasan, accompanied by the Grand Duke Michael, the Prince of Orange, and Prince William of Prussia. The Duke of Wellington, Count Peter Tolstoï the general-in-chief, and Lieutenant-General Emanuel * walked in his suite as assistants. Next, came Duke Alexander of Wurtemburg with the two young princes, his sons, who then held only the rank of colonel, and the eldest of whom has now the honour of being a son-in-law of the King of the French; a little further, near the minister of war and the chief of the general staff, Field-Marshal Prince de Wrede and several hundred generals were grouped about them. The imperial family and that of Duke

* Intrusted a short time afterwards with a superior command in the province of the Caucasus and over the Cossacks of the Black Sea, General Emanuel was promoted, about the year 1830, to the rank of general of infantry, and, in 1831, the emperor made him a present of an estate containing 60,000 *déciatines* of land in the same province. (60,000 Russian *déciatines* are equal to 120,000 hectares, or 296,520 English acres.—Transl.)

Alexander followed in mourning coaches, behind which the procession still continued till out of sight, arranged in order, according to all the laws of etiquette, but having a monotonous appearance, and owing the little splendour it possessed solely to the uniforms of the soldiers under arms who lined each side of the road. The bells of every parish church were tolling their abrupt and discordant notes, varied every minute by the report of a cannon from the ramparts of the fortress. The finest weather had prevailed throughout the week; but, on that day (a Saturday) all nature seemed gloomy and sad; a recent heavy fall of snow covered the ground, and flakes of it were whirling in the air beneath the dark clouds which shrouded the vault of heaven.

At two o'clock, after having traversed all the south-western part of the town to reach the Perspective of Nevski, and having halted before every church, whether Greco-Russian or any other,* for the space of time necessary for the reading of the prayers, during which interval the bells and the artillery remained silent, the car stopped in front of the cathedral. The archbishop, surrounded by his clergy, was waiting upon the steps of the peristyle, with which this fine temple, an imitation in miniature of St. Peter's at Rome, is flanked on the side facing the Perspective. The archbishop was Seraphim, who had received the monarch's farewell at the *laura* of St. Alexander Nevski, eight months before.

* In front of the Catholic church, all the clergy, having at their head their venerable archbishop, Siestrzencewicz-Bohush (see Note (18) of the Appendix), an old man of ninety-five, were assembled on a platform and celebrated a funeral service on the approach of the body.

The old man introduced the lifeless remains into the sacred inclosure, small, like most of the Russian churches, on account of the severity of the climate, but then narrowed still more by a *chambre ardente* of an oval form, placed in front of the *iconostase*, near the sumptuous silver balustrade which separates from the nave the platform raised a few steps in front of the altar, and where the priest performs the holy sacrifice every day. Surrounded by a thousand lighted wax-candles, and adorned with folds of costly stuffs, the *catafalco* reached as high as the dome, surrounded with a richly ornamented canopy. In the nave, the numberless candles, of an enormous lustre, contended in vain with the demi-obscurity that reigned throughout the temple; but they cast a glittering ray on the colossal silver crosses which gleamed forth from the black hangings with which the walls were covered. On these hangings were seen the armorial bearings of all the governments or territorial divisions and those of the principal cities, such as St. Petersburg, Moscow, Novogorod, Kief, Riga, Kasan, Astrakhan, and others. Piles of flags, taken in battle, were arranged as trophies near the columns. The latter, cut out of one solid block of blue polished granite, occupy, as is well known, with the double row, the whole length of the nave, and are, with the columns in the church of Isaac, among the wonders of the capital of the North; but broad black bands, with alternate bands of silver, of the same length, enveloped their graceful proportions, which were now impervious to the reflection of innumerable brilliant rays.

If, in the imposing spectacle of the nothingness of

human power, the sight of fallen fortunes, of an inferior order, could have claimed attention, one might have observed in a gallery of that nave, a few women interesting for their misfortunes. They were the two queens of Iméreth, one the wife and the other the mother of the unfortunate Czar Solomon II. who died at Trebisond about 1810, and Nina, the last Regent of Mingrélia, the mother of the present prince, or dadian, and daughter of George XI. the last King of Georgia. Around them the diplomatic body, the ladies of the highest rank, and such persons of distinction as had been favoured with a special invitation, also occupied reserved places.

When the generals and aides-de-camp had lifted off the body, in order to intrust it to the twenty-four under-officers, charged to carry it into the temple, and when, amid a religious silence, the latter had placed it upon the *catafalco*, the funeral service began.

The Greco-Russian church, in which this ceremonial performs so important a part, displayed on this occasion all its pomp, the splendour of its sacerdotal ornaments, the impressive beauty of its singing, and the dignity of its ancient customs. The archbishop officiated; he wore the riband of St. Andrew, cross-wise over his rich *chasuble*. He saluted the holy images of the iconostase, the royal doors, the emperor, and all the congregation. The censer, flung backwards and forwards, spread abroad its perfumes, and filled the temple with its mysterious clouds. Then began the prayers of the holy liturgy,* and the chapel of the court repeating in the form of response the *Gospodi*

* It comprises the immolation of the Lamb, and serves in lieu of mass.

pomiloui ! (Kyrie eleison !) the magnificent accompaniment of every prayer, chaunted in harmonious accents, at once solemn and sweet, an admirable melody, so full of heavenly peace, that every heart was affected, and tears flowed from every eye. That fundamental and daily duty of the Russian church was followed by the funeral service, and next by the reading of the Holy Gospels; then, after having ended the prayers, and given his benediction to the faithful, the archbishop dismissed the assembly.

When this first homage had been paid to the deceased monarch, in his favourite city, to which a gloomy foreboding had hinted to him that he would never return alive, everybody seemed to be relieved from an intense anxiety, and the general feeling was energetically expressed in an article of the "Journal of St. Petersburg" (Nos. 29 and 30 of the year 1826), which did not pass unnoticed. "The 6th of March has at length passed away," says the "Journal," "that *terrible* day which was to enlighten the solemn entrance of the funeral procession of the late emperor into St. Petersburg, and chastise us, so to speak, a second time with the dreadful blow which has deprived the august imperial family of its beloved chief, Russia of a father and a benefactor, and Europe of her magnanimous peace-maker, and one of the firmest supports of her tranquillity; a day of mourning and sorrow, which all the population of the capital was expecting

The communion takes place under both forms, the bread being dipped in the wine. Certain portions of the liturgy are attributed to St. Basil, others to St. John Chrysostom. Other particulars will be presented further, in chapter vii.

with an anxiety increased to the utmost pitch by the affecting particulars of the progress of the funeral-procession from Taganrog, and of the touching ceremonies that had taken place at Tsarsko-Sélo and Tchesmé; a day, in short, the memory of which will remain engraven in imperishable characters in the hearts of all the inhabitants."

The cathedral of Kasan preserved its precious deposit for a whole week; and, during almost all that period, its doors remained open to the immense concourse of the population, eager to contemplate this ceremony, or fervently desiring to go and pray by the side of the coffin. Divine service was performed every day; the reading of the Holy Gospels took place even during the night, and the funeral service was renewed every night and morning, in presence of the head of the state, his family, and the most considerable personages. An imposing silence prevailed in that vaulted edifice, so gloomy, notwithstanding so many lights. The crowd, admitted and arranged in order, ascended slowly the steps of the *catafalco*, from the lowest step, where figures of kneeling angels, with outspread wings, were placed upon pedestals. Around the coffin, the head of which was turned towards the altar, was a magnificent drapery of white and crimson silk, enriched with galoon, fringe, and tassels of gold; and the rich brocade with which it was covered did not entirely conceal the work of the sculptor, or the splendour of the gilding. Stools were placed around, bearing the cushions of the different orders that had been borne before the car; and in the spaces between the trophies and the small columns, as also upon the

steps, stood superior officers, charged alternately to watch day and night. Clouds of incense were ever rising towards the dome, the hangings of which, representing the four Evangelists, were scarcely perceptible through the mist. From time to time, voices, expressive of grief, but also of resignation, rising in delightful harmony behind the *iconostase*, caused the hearts of all the congregation to thrill, and added to their pious edification. On arriving at the inner portico of the *chambre ardente*, everybody paused and bowed before the bier, which it is customary to kiss on such occasions. The Russians piously observe all the practices of their religion; some, after kneeling, kissed the part next the feet, then that next the hand or the heart; they all accompanied their genuflexions with frequent signs of the cross, and murmured a prayer for the repose of the soul of their sovereign.

The spectacle thus displayed in the interior of Our Lady of Kasan was not devoid of grandeur, and yet that which was preparing in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, at the fortress, was destined to surpass it. We shall not attempt to describe it, but confine ourselves to a few general remarks.

This church, the Dutch tower of which—with its pointed steeple, garnished with gilt copper, glittering in the sun—is seen at a great distance from the city, has been the St. Denis of the Russian emperors ever since its founder, Peter the Great. That great man is the first on the list. All his successors, except young Peter II, who died at Moscow, and Joann Antonovitch, the last Romanoff of the eldest branch,* repose by his

* Massacred at Schlusselburg on the night of the 4th of July, 1764,

side. Above the nave, which is supported by twelve large columns, rises the dome, resting upon four enormous pillars; its meagre and angular exterior reminds the beholder at first sight of the Batavian architecture, which forms a strong contrast with the Greek or Roman style of most of the other monuments in the capital of the north. This dome casts a faint and mysterious light upon the iconostase, ornamented with a number of images, arranged on each side of the holy doors, by which the minister of the altar communicates with the congregation. In front of this iconostase are the sarcophagi of the emperors and empresses, placed on the right and left, with their feet towards the nave; near the sovereigns repose likewise the members of their family. The walls around the church are ornamented with trophies, consisting of flags, horse-tails of pachas, keys of cities, &c. To receive the new guest, destined to await beneath the sepulchral vaults the day of final judgment, an imposing *catafalco* had been erected under the dome: it filled up the whole space between the four pillars against which it rested, and spread even beyond it in the direction of the nave, the solemn decoration of which, being all in black, harmonized admirably with the style of the *chapelle ardente*. The dimensions of this construction were astounding. Colossal figures of angels in plaster, imitating bronze, together with chandeliers and trophies, ornamented the base of the platform. The whole length of the ceiling was ornamented with *caissons* with white *rosaces*, in the centre, on a black ground, edged with white. Nothing could

and buried at the convent of Tikhfina, about 23 miles from St. Petersburg.

be more solemn than the first sight of this temple of death : it was truly the threshold of eternity.

The 25th of March had been fixed as the day when the mortal remains of Alexander, which had been nearly three months on their road, were at length to reach their last asylum.* Two days before, the cathedral of Kasan had been shut to the crowd : its doors no longer opened but for the members of the imperial family, whose devotions became still more frequent as the time grew shorter, and for such persons of the court as had been about the person of the deceased, his old servants and his friends. A proclamation, read with the same formalities, announced to the public the day of the burial ; and when that day—dismal, snowy, and tempestuous—at length arrived, the whole city was again in motion, and the same ceremony recommenced.

The distance, this time, was not so great : after having returned by the Perspective of Nevski, as far as the Imperial Library, the procession was to turn to the left, through the grand street called *Sadovaïa*, cross the immense Field of Mars, and, by taking the Suwarrow square, reach the quay of the Neva, opposite the fortress.

* Therefore it was not, as people have stated, the anniversary of the death of the Emperor Paul, which happened on the night of the 23rd. From the house named Ribas, in the Field of Mars, from which the author witnessed the passing of the funeral, you perceive before you the ancient palace Mikhaïlofski, which is so whimsically constructed, and which the unfortunate monarch had in vain surrounded with moats and bastions ; you can also plainly distinguish the window of the corner chamber on the first floor, where the tragical scene of that horrible night took place. What a morrow for the Empress Maria ! It was the Countess de Lieven who went and informed her "that the emperor had just expired from an attack of apoplexy."

The communication between the two banks of the river was effected by means of a bridge of boats, generally removed in winter. To replace it at that season, it had been necessary to cut away the ice, which was several feet thick, to make openings to receive the pontoons; but in this country, as was formerly the case in Egypt, works of this kind cost nothing; for the labour of man, the vile *mougik* or clown, is reckoned of no value. The emperor, on horseback, and surrounded as on the former day, galloped again through the whole line, from the famous gate of the Summer Garden on the quay, as far as Our Lady of Kasan. He alighted at the porch, and as soon as he had entered the temple the archbishop began the liturgy. Next, the body, removed from the *catafalco*, was replaced on the car of state drawn by eight horses, the reins being held, for the last time, by the faithful Ilya, now determined to forego henceforth and for ever the service in which he had taken so much delight during the life of his master. At noon the procession began to move, and, notwithstanding the snow-storm, everything was conducted with solemn propriety. The emperor and the princes followed the coffin on foot; the empresses, with the youthful heir and the Princess Maria of Würtemberg, in mourning coaches. Among the aides-de-camp-general of the deceased, was remarked Count (since Prince) Christopher de Lieven, who had hastened from London to pay his last duties to his indulgent master, to whose person he had been attached from his youth.

At length, they arrived at the place of interment, where the diplomatic body had assembled, together with a few foreigners of distinction. In this place we will

borrow the following description from an official document:—

"As admission into the church had been granted only to the first two classes, the highest functionaries, the persons employed about the court, and those who had worn the insignia of the empire and the orders, the congregation was reduced to a comparatively small number of persons, most of whom had had the happiness of approaching the late emperor, and had been loaded with his favours. In the church of Kasan, public homage had been paid to the great monarch, the lord of twenty different nations, united under one sceptre, *for their common happiness;* and the grief of all, though deeply felt, was moderated in its demonstration by the respect which sovereign majesty inspires even though it be mute. In the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, the spectacle appeared more like a meeting of relations, weeping unrestrained for the beloved head of the family. Let the reader imagine, if possible, an august sovereign, a mother on whom heaven had already inflicted more than once the severest trials, prostrate motionless at the foot of her son's coffin,—a son the glory and delight of mankind, who had repaid her tenderness with the most constant and respectful affection, and had inflicted no pang on her maternal heart till the moment when his own had ceased to beat. On the other hand, the Empress Alexandra, trembling and almost overwhelmed with affliction; the youthful grand-duke, the hope of posterity, who seemed to prove, by a sensibility beyond his age, that he fully comprehended the immense loss of him whom he will one day imitate; Prince William of Prussia unable to

refrain from weeping; the Prince of Orange, the model of the most sincere friendship, yielding unreservedly to his excessive grief; the Grand-Duke Michael, himself inconsolable, yet striving to support the drooping courage of his relations; and, lastly, the emperor overwhelmed with inexpressible grief, but soon obliged to summon all the manly energy of his character and use a kind of authority to induce his mother and his consort to leave the church, just as the coffin was about to be lifted from the *catafalco* and lowered into the tomb! There was nobody in all that congregation of natives and foreigners, princes and subjects, who did not shed tears and feel his heart wounded by that spectacle. A few old grenadiers, admitted into the church to help in lifting the coffin, forgot the strictness of behaviour which discipline imposes, and big tears were seen rolling from the eyes of these veterans who had braved death in so many battles. Finally, shall we omit to mention the faithful coachman Ilya, who was unwilling that any other should drive the funeral car from Taganrog, and whom no persuasion could induce to abandon the remains of his master till the very last moment?"

This description was by no means exaggerated; it was especially true in what relates to the empress-mother, who, till then calm and resigned, could not support the idea of separating from that coffin which she still continued to embrace. She was led away almost lifeless, a few moments before those precious remains were lowered into the silent grave.

At three in the afternoon, the black flag, waving from a tower between the cathedral and the rampart,

was suddenly lowered; this signal, accompanied with a salvo from three hundred cannon shot off from the fortress and the Field of Mars, and followed by a rolling fire repeated three several times by the troops stationed along the quays, announced that all was over, and that the remains of the monarch had returned to the bosom of the earth. The imperial crown, the sceptre, and the globe were immediately carried back to the Winter Palace, and the Count de Lieven was personally charged to convey the sword of the deceased to the empress-mother. This princess religiously preserved it as a relic till her death.

Funeral service was likewise celebrated in every part of the empire,* not only in the Christian churches of different rituals, but also in the synagogues, in the mosques, around the *atesh-gah* of the Parses, the fire-worshippers, in the pagodas of the Lamaïtes, and in the mysterious circles traced by the hand of the *chamane*. All these forms of worship are tolerated by the throne of the czars. The population of the empire, as is well known, belongs to ten great ethnographical families; and, if every variation of dialect be taken into the calculation, the number of eighty languages, commonly adopted, would be found to be too low an estimate.† Let the reader judge from this,

* Special solemnities took place in the universities of the empire, in those of the kingdom of Poland (the university of Warsaw then existed), and of the grand principality of Finland. The speeches spoken at Abo (then still in possession of its grand school, since transferred to Helsingfors) in Swedish, by Professor Wallenius, and at Dorpat, in German, by Professor Morgenstern, were particularly remarked.

† See the ethnographical table placed by M. de Kœpin at the end of his "Mémoire sur la Population de la Russie en 1838." (An extract

of the diversity of these prayers addressed to heaven, doubtless in the same spirit of fidelity and affection, but by men of every degree in the scale of civilization, belonging to races of mankind separated from one another by immense distances, and yet united under the same sceptre, and subject to one and the same will.

It will not be uninteresting to the reader to be introduced to one or other of these solemnities celebrated far from the capital, in countries little known, and among nations of diverse origins, like the Cossacks and the Tartars. Let him, therefore, accompany us once more from one extremity of the empire to the other, into those vast regions watered by two great rivers, the Don and the Wolga, stretching from the lower Dnieper as far as the Caspian sea.

The name of Cossack or Kazak, well known in the East, signifies a partisan, a warrior fighting on his own account, followed by his men, fond of the adventurous life of making incursions into foreign lands, and ever ready for action.

Indeed, the Cossacks did not primitively form a distinct ethnographical element: they were a discordant mass of men of divers origins, Caucasian, Tartar, Russian, Polish, and so forth. Even at the present day, a *Kasatchia orda*, Cossack horde is found included among the Kirghiz-kaïssaks, tribes belonging to the Turkish race. But the two principal establishments formed by these warriors were that of the lower Dnieper and that at the mouth of the Don. The former, in which

from the "Memoirs of the Academy of St. Petersburg," in the German language.)

the blood of Russia-Minor prevailed, constituted the warlike republic of the Zaporoghes, so formidable to Poland under the hetman Khmielnitzki, and to the Muscovites under Mazeppa, but ultimately dissolved under Catherine II.; the second, less celebrated, though perhaps more ancient, is however known in history by the revolt of Stenko Racine (1670), by that of the hetman Boulavin (1708), and that of the famous Pou gatcheff (1773). It is to these Cossacks of the Don that we wish to introduce the reader.

They occupy a space of 142,000 square verstes* of country, along the river, organized in a particular manner, by virtue of their ancient privileges. The population of this country exceeds 700,000 souls, which number, however, gives only five souls to each square verste. It is composed of none but free men; for the Cossacks of the Don, though admitting an inequality of ranks, do not allow servitude. They are generally robust, patient of fatigue, and full of energy. Formerly, individual heroism imparted to this people a peculiar physiognomy; it was by no means uncommon to find among them those Homeric types of warriors thirsting for glory and rapine, acting independently of others, and displaying superhuman strength and audacity. But now, civilization, or at least its vices, its debilitating principles, is reaching the inhabitants of the cities and those who live on the banks of the lower Don; but the ancient manners are still preserved in those monotonous plains watered by the Sal, between the Don and the Manytch. That warlike nation, the nursery of an excellent cavalry, and now

* According to the late calculations of M. de Kœppen (1845).

subject to an organization strictly maintained, is still governed by its hetman, who, at the time of which we are speaking, was General Tlovaïski, the successor of Count Platoff.*

The chief town of the country is Novo-Tcherkask, at a short distance from the Don, near its confluence with the sea of Azof. In this town, which is still quite new, and has taken the place of the old Tcherkask, the warriors of the Don had had, a few months previously, the satisfaction of offering to Alexander, according to custom, the *bread and salt* of hospitality. Now, therefore, his death was a subject of universal regret. A funeral service was announced for the 21st of May, and at the same time the corps of grenadiers was to receive a rescript sent by his successor. For the purpose of rewarding the incorruptible fidelity of the Cossacks, as also the late services rendered by them in furnishing a guard for the *sacred person* of the deceased monarch at Taganrog, the Emperor Nicholas made them a present of the sabre which the latter used to wear. "Let this sabre be added," he said, at the end of his rescript, "to the other ensigns of those troops; let it be in future the trophy of their exploits and services, and a pledge of the unalterable feeling of solicitude which I entertain for their welfare."

Everything took place conformably to the ancient customs. The army of the Don, being regularly convoked, at Novo-Tcherkask, assembled before the local

* Count Platoff, rendered so celebrated by the war of 1813 and 1814, and who, from being a private Cossack, became, like Deniçoff, general-in-chief and hetman of his ancient comrades, died on the 18th of July, 1818. His memory is still idolized by that tribe.

seat of its chancery (*voïskovaïa Kantsellaria*), a sort of elective council of regency, charged under the presidency of the hetman, with the administration of affairs, and divided into three compartments, one military, another civil, and a third merely economical. When the *circle* had been formed, the distinctive and honorary ensigns peculiar to this corps were displayed: the *boulava*, a bundle of arms serving the hetman for a sceptre, the *bountchouk*, or horse-tail, carried before him in the Turkish fashion, and which calls to mind the ancient connexion between these warriors and the East; the standard, the ensigns of the *stanitzas* or villages, the seal, and divers ornaments due to the munificence of the Russian sovereigns.* Soon after, the hetman appeared, accompanied by Major-General Bogdanovitch, together with the emperor's quartermaster-general, and all the generals and officers of the corps. In repairing in procession to the cathedral, the *cortége* marched between two hedges formed by a squadron of Cossacks of the guard,† a company of artillery, three *sotnes* or companies of a hundred men

* Besides these marks of distinction and these political presents, Clarke saw at the Old-Tcherkask, where the regalia were still kept in his time, beautifully rich manuscripts, intended to attest the exploits of this war-like people. Among the monuments which perpetuate the remembrance of the gratitude of the czars, he says he saw some excessively rich standards, sent to them by the Empress Catherine. He was also shewn a map of the Cossack territory, drawn by that sovereign's own hand. "Travels," vol. ii. p. 27.

† It is one of the finest corps of this chosen troop, and, except that of the Tcherkesses, the only one that presents the sight of a union of free men; for they have a proud mien, and their long hair, which they preserve uncut, gives them an appearance of dignity unknown in the army, where the heads of the soldiers are shaved, and their faces all of a dark brown colour are generally alike.

of the *hetman* regiment, and by an ordinary regiment, composed of Cossacks belonging to the adjacent villages. This cathedral, like most of the Russian churches, is small, and could not contain all that military assemblage. The staff, accompanied by deputations of the nobility of several districts, entered and laid the sabre and the imperial rescript upon the table. The insignia and the standards still preserved the circle without, and the Cossacks took up their position around the square, occupied by a numerous multitude eager to witness the sight; whilst the children of the Cossacks from ten to fifteen years of age, who had been brought from the different villages for this purpose, were posted in the middle in a manner that enabled them to see all at their ease. After divine service and the performance of a funeral service for the repose of the soul of the deceased emperor, a *Te Deum* was sung, and prayers offered up for the preservation of the new emperor. Then, the religious ceremony being ended, the hetman and all the generals, officers, and public functionaries, together with the clergy, entered the circle where they brought out the sabre and the imperial rescript which a major-general, sent from St. Petersburg, then delivered in a solemn manner to the hetman. This chief then exhibited the sabre to the army, as the pledge of their sovereign's benevolence, and ordered that the rescript should be read aloud. The warriors responded with *hourras;* and the hetman immediately addressed his *brethren* and fellow-citizens in a speech, wherein he proposed to celebrate annually the anniversary of that day by a commemorative ceremony, in which the circle of the army should meet according to ancient custom,

and march in the same order as on that day to the cathedral, whilst there should be also private assemblies held in the stanitzas where the rescript should likewise be read; to open a subscription in order to procure the funds necessary for founding, at Novo-Tcherkask, in memory of that day, a school for the education of orphans that should be named after Alexander I., provided all this met with the approval of their sovereign. The assembly having received these proposals with acclamations, the hetman ended his speech with these words: "Your applause, worthy citizens, justifies our dearest hopes and is a new pledge of our devotion to the throne and to our native land."

The subscription, begun immediately, was crowded with signatures, and the list was afterwards forwarded to the nobles of the rural districts. After another speech of a simple and affecting nature, spoken by the arch-priest in the interior of the circle, the procession of the insignia returned in the same order to the chancery; the Cossacks of the stanitzas and the people sat down at tables prepared in the square, and all the officers repaired to the house of the hetman, where healths and toasts were proposed during the banquet, in honour of the emperor and all his family, amid the roar of artillery.

The other *fête*, the memory of which we desire to preserve, was not a funeral ceremony; but it relates also to the change of reign, and will give some idea of the worship of those 2,000,000 of Mussulmans, the remains of the ancient population of Kiptchak, formerly more compact in the Crimea, along the Volga, from Astrakhan to Kasan.

In the first fortnight of May, these Mussulmans used to celebrate their festival of *ouraza-baïram;* that of 1826 was at the same time a kind of inauguration of the new sovereign.

The Tartars of Astrakhan chose for this purpose a vast plain outside the town: the canopy of heaven over reviving nature served them for their mosque. They had been joined by many of their co-religionists of the neighbouring governments, such as the Tartars of the Crimea, of Orenburg, and Kasan, the inhabitants of Chamachia, the mountaineers of the Caucasus; as also by many men belonging to the roaming tribes of the East, such as the Boukhares, the inhabitants of Taschkent and Khiva, and others; to whom report adds moreover, the Troukhmens, Kokans, Koschkars, Kabouls, Chakims, and such like, making altogether an assembly of 4,000 souls. These children of Islam, clad in their most beautiful costumes, were seated, with the utmost order, in long rows, perfectly silent, and awaiting the commencement of divine service, which was celebrated by their first mollah,* Akzal-Kouïznate-Kazi-Akhoundjane-Mazof, an intelligent-looking man, with a fine head, and of lofty stature. Seated in a kind of pulpit (*mimber*), and surrounded by subaltern mollahs, he chaunted at first a few verses from the koran; mollahs stationed at different intervals repeated after him the last word of each verse, which was the signal of much agitation through all the assembly. The uniformity and regularity of these thousands of individuals, moving and uttering short

* The heads of the Mussulman religion in Russia are two Mufti, one of Oufa and the other of the Crimea.

exclamations, formed a strange spectacle. Afterwards, the grand mollah offered up a prayer, of which we will attempt to give a translation.

"O God, the Creator of the world! Hallowed and glorified be the reign of thine elect, the powerful lord, illustrious emperor, and eminent czar, our august and gracious autocrat, Nicholas Paulovitch; exalt him, O God, by the plenitude of thy grace; preserve him from the evil eye, from slander, and from every inward and outward malady. Amen.

"Impart to him thy glorious grace, and let him be a merciful father to his subjects; strengthen in virtue all his doings and intentions; and make his august reign both long and prosperous. Amen.

"Cause the heir of his throne, his children, his august mother, his beloved consort, and his noble brothers, to enjoy an uninterrupted health and perpetual joy; and strengthen a lasting peace and concord among them. Maintain in peace the sincere, faithful, and eminent ministers and councillors, particularly the director of the ecclesiastical affairs of foreign communions, and every person about the throne; may love and friendship ever reign among them. Increase and strengthen their fidelity and devotion to the lord our emperor. Amen.

"Strengthen also in their power the commanders-in-chief of the armies, by sea and land, and give them the victory over wicked enemies, and such as are afraid of truth. Amen.

"And impart thy grace to the superior authority in every government, and let it be merciful and beneficent to the people. Amen.

"O God, almighty and invariably the same, for the sake of this feast of ramazan, and of the upright and pious persons here so numerously assembled, both poor and rich, pour down prosperity, peace, and plenty, and a pure and salubrious air throughout the Russian empire, in every village, town, and plain, and particularly in the governments of Kasan and Astrakhan; and grant them a bountiful share of the produce and fruits of the earth. Protect and preserve both man and beast from all evil, from sad accidents, diseases, and from all kinds of calamities and crimes among themselves, and guard the habitations of men from the scourge of fire and flood. Amen."

Several Russian functionaries had come from the town with their families, to witness this religious ceremony, after which all the Mahometan clergy and the most eminent of the Tartars were invited to a collation at the house of one of the richest of the congregation. At the request of the Mussulman community, the civil governor repaired there likewise, accompanied by several other functionaries: they were offered tea and preserves, and alms were, at the same time, distributed to the poor.*

Meanwhile, the capital was beginning to prepare for an august and splendid ceremony, of which Moscow, *the mother of Russian cities*, was to be the theatre; a Christian ceremony, but one that interested the whole

* It would be interesting to compare with these acts of the Christian and Mussulman forms of worship, those of other religions, and, did we not fear to weary the patience of the reader by a multiplicity of liturgic details, we could have furnished a sketch of a ceremony of inauguration which took place, in July, 1826, also at Astrakhan, and which belongs to the Lamaïc worship of the Calmucs subject to the Russian empire.

empire, and in which the Mahometan nations themselves were to be represented by their princes or their deputies; a ceremony of rejoicing, and not of mourning, in which the autocrat would invoke upon himself and his people the blessings of the Most High.

As early as the 21st of April (3rd of May), the manifesto of the coronation had been signed and published; and the Grand-Duchess Helen, then *enceinte* with her second child, had departed a month before for the ancient capital, where, as we shall presently see, she was to be confined; the empress-mother intended to follow her thither, the more speedily as Elizabeth had expressed a desire of meeting her at Kalonga; the imperial guard had likewise proceeded in that direction, and had been obliged to make such forced marches, that it is said to have shewn symptoms of discontent. Everybody was weary of moral emotion, and eager to introduce some variety to this long and dismal mourning; after so many months of anxiety, men needed some recreation; having been deprived for four months of balls, theatres, and almost of assemblies, everybody was now wishing to enjoy, if only for a few days, the bustle of festivals and the pleasures of social amusements. The announcement of the coronation was therefore hailed with a hearty welcome.

The tenor of the manifesto was as follows:—

"By our accession to the throne of our ancestors, we have accepted the burden which it had pleased God to impose on us, and looking to His omnipotence and infinite mercy for our support and strength, we have resolved, according to the example of our imperial ancestors, to receive the sacred unction, to place the

crown on our brow, and to associate in this solemn act our well-beloved spouse, the Empress Alexandra.

"In announcing this event, which, by God's help, shall be accomplished in the month of June of the present year 1826, in our capital of Moscow, we call upon all our faithful subjects to join their faithful prayers to those which we offer up to the Most High, in order that His ineffable grace may, with the holy oil, be shed upon ourselves and our empire, and that this sacred act may become the token and pledge of His supreme will in our favour, and the seal of the affection which unites us to our faithful servants, *whose happiness is the only aim of our thoughts, the fulfilment of all our desires, the reward of all our labours, and the foremost of our duties towards the King of kings.*"

On the same day, Nicholas appointed as supreme marshal of the coronation Prince Nicholas Joussoupoff, the actual privy councillor of the first class, one of the richest proprietors in Russia, an old man infirm from age, but who had formerly enjoyed a great reputation for ability and intelligence. After having been, as far back as the reign of Catherine II., ambassador to Turkey, afterwards senator and member of the council of the empire, and honoured with the most eminent titles, he had retired to Moscow, of which city his father had been governor.* To assist the prince in his duties, a com-

* He possessed on the river Moskva, at 18 verstes from this capital, the beautiful property of Archanghelsk, with a dependency of five villages. This property, enriched as it is with some of the scattered ruins of Gorenki, the splendid creation of Rasoumoffski, deserves to be visited by the traveller. Nothing is wanting in magnificence to complete the idea of a nobleman of the highest rank; considerable buildings, sumptuous apartments, a vast park, spacious green-houses, a theatre, a rich

mission was appointed, including the grand master of the ceremonies, and the senator Prince Ouroussoff, descended, like Joussoupoff, from a family of Nogais *Mourzas*, on which the title of Russian prince had been conferred.*

By another ukase, signed the same day as the manifesto, the emperor ordered the senate to summon to Moscow, in order to be present at the coronation, all the marshals of the nobility of the different governments, and all the mayors (*golova*) of the chief towns, with the exception of eight or ten governments at too great a distance from that capital.

Immediately after these publications, foreign potentates hastened to appoint ambassadors-extraordinary to be their representatives at the solemnity of the coronation. The choice of Charles X. fell upon an old warrior of the republic and the empire, a man of eminent merit, often victorious on the battle-field, and covered with wounds, yet now an exile from his native land, by a fatality which, from the year 1814, seems ever to have accompanied his destiny. But then, the Duke of

library, containing numerous *chefs-d'œuvre* of typographic art, a gallery of pictures in which are some of the works of the greatest masters, antiquities partly derived from the excavations of Herculaneum, productions of modern statuary, among others the group of Cupid assisting Psyche, by Canova (1796), curiosities of every kind, collections of arms, pikes, &c. Prince Nicholas Borissovitch Joussoupoff died on the 27th of July, 1831, aged 81, leaving as his only heir his son Boris, born in 1794, and who has married a Naryschkin for his second wife. His inheritance consisted principally of 25,000 serfs. His wife had 15,000.

* Ever since 1836, he has been grand-master of the court. Princess Sophia Ouroussoff, whose beauty was so much remarked during the coronation at Moscow, and who was named at that period lady of honour, is one of his daughters, and now the wife of Prince Leon Radzivill, one of the emperor's aides-de-camp.

Ragusa (for he is the person we mean) was in high favour at the court of the Tuileries, and was reckoned among the few general officers to whom the command of the king's military establishment was confided. The marshal's title as duke was entirely personal and recent; but that nothing might be wanting in this solemn embassy,—that it might worthily represent the *most-christian* king, the descendant of St. Louis, and flatter the pride of a court with which France was then on terms of great intimacy, he had received for his suite men who, though young for the most part, belonged to the oldest families in France, and whose names recalled to mind her glories of every period. There were first three lieutenant-generals (*maréchaux de camp*), Viscount Talon, Count de Broglie, and Count Denis Danrémont, the same who perished in the breach at Constantine in 1837, when on the point of receiving the staff of marshal of France; next the colonels, Marquis de Castries, Count de Caraman, and Marquis de Podenas; the marshal's suite was moreover composed of Count Alfred de Damas, a *chef-d'escadron;* of captains Count de Villefranche, Count de Caumont-Laforce, Count de Brézé; and of subalterns, Marquis de Vogué, Count de Biron, and Viscount de La Feronnays, son of the ordinary ambassador. Other historical names, such as Maillé and Guise, also figured among the aides-de-camp or the simple ordnance officers of the marshal.

This brilliant embassy, well worthy of the most polished and warlike nation in Europe, arrived at St. Petersburg on the 13th of May.* On the 19th

* The 1st of May according to the Russian calendar, being the day of the promenade of Catherinenhoff, which is the Russian *Longchamp*.

the Duke of Ragusa had his audience, and remained for a long time alone with the emperor, who received him with marks of particular distinction. The next day Nicholas paid him the honours of his guard, by commanding in person the regiment of Préobrajensk, which was that day on duty, and whose uniform he wore. He appeared eager to make the old French warrior admire that extreme precision in the handling of arms, and that incredible exactness in evolutions, of which the Russian army in Europe can alone furnish an example. The Duke de San-Carlos, sent by Spain, arrived a few days after Marmont; then, in the commencement of June, they were joined by Field-Marshal Count de Stedingk, ambassador-extraordinary from Sweden, accompanied by General Stiermcroma, first aide-de-camp to the king, by Lieutenant-Colonel Baron de Stedingk, chamberlain to the prince-royal, and by several other gentlemen having the rank of superior officers. The baron, a little grey-headed old man, with a worthy, open, smiling countenance, nevertheless reminded one of the distinguished cavalier who had formerly represented Gustavus III. at the court of Catherine II. It was to him, when interceding for Prince Dolgorouki, that Paul I. addressed those words, unheard of in the annals even of absolute courts:—"Know, Sir Count, that there are no great lords in Russia but those to whom I speak, and as long as I choose to speak."*

The thoughts of all were therefore turned towards the grand national solemnity so impatiently expected,

* According to Count de Ségur ("Mémoires ou Souvenirs," t. iii. p. 533) this reprimand was addressed to General Dumouriez.

and from which everybody hoped to derive either positive advantages, or, at least, those pleasures of which he was fond, strong emotions, captivating spectacles, and the no less desired opportunity of exhibiting his person to advantage. The mourning had been forgotten, and everybody was eager to enjoy all the blessings of life, when Death, returning, once more inflicted one of those blows which annihilate the idle projects of men. On the 21st of May, news was received at St. Petersburg of the death of the Empress Elizabeth.

The noble widow of Alexander had entertained but one wish since her bereavement, and that was to rejoin the imperial family, and to die. In such a frame of mind, what signified to her the state of her health, which was becoming more alarming every day? All she required of her expiring strength was that it should not forsake her before she had completed the journey, and seen once more the mother of her husband. In the first fortnight of March she was ready to depart; but she was dissuaded from going, and reports from the governors of Kharkoff and Jekaterinoslaff as to the state of the roads, caused the departure to be postponed to the following month. Meanwhile, Nicholas was anxiously providing for the future existence of this "excellent woman, whom twenty-five years of virtuous actions were unable to protect from affliction."* The palace of Oranienbaum, situated opposite to the Gulf of Finland, far from the noisy bustle of the capital, had ever been the favourite residence of Elizabeth. As early as the 21st of January, the emperor

* Ancelot, "Six Mois en Russie," p. 106.

ordered that this palace, with all its dependencies, villages, farms, and other places which had formed the personal property of the Emperor Alexander, should thenceforth belong entirely to his widow. Kamennoï-Ostroff, one of those elegant small islands, which, dividing the Neva on the north of the capital, have adorned it on that side with the most charming gardens, together with the palace so finely situated at the end of the bridge of communication, and all the edifices and establishments belonging to it, were to remain likewise her property, and afford her the means of varying her residence during the summer season. In short, the monarch provided for all the wants of his brother's widow, and evinced his respect for her by the most delicate attentions. Elizabeth gratefully accepted Oranienbaum; but, as other estates would have appeared to her a useless burden, she wrote to the emperor to entreat him to transfer the property of Kamennoï-Ostroff to the Grand-Duke Michael and his descendants.

On the 8th of May she departed from Taganrog. This departure was the occasion of a touching scene: the whole population crowded about her, accompanying her a great distance from the town, unable to lose sight of the woman whose angelic resignation and noble fortitude they now admired, after having witnessed her conjugal devotion and the loving tenderness of her heart towards her dying husband. But Elizabeth tore herself away from their demonstrations of affection, feeling that it was necessary to make all speed to avail herself of what strength remained to her. She hoped to be able to reach Kalouga, where she had entreated

the empress-mother to come to meet her. "My sole desire here on earth," said she in her letter, "is to see once more the mother of the angel who has gone before me!" Thence, it seems, she was to have gone to the estate of Prince Volkonski, her faithful companion,* and to have remained there till after the coronation. These ulterior projects were made for Elizabeth; for she herself had no wish beyond that expressed in her letter; neither did she deceive herself as to her condition, or to the few days she had to live. "The prodigious effort," says an official article, "which the empress made on her own feelings to temper her resignation to the extent of her misfortune, had appeared to impart to her delicate constitution some of the energy of her magnanimous soul. She had endured with the fortitude of a heroine and the piety of a saint, the inexpressible loss which made the future a misery which could only be ended with her life; but this misery had destroyed a constitution to which even now the remembrance of her husband and of the sacrifice she made to his memory, was able to give a momentary animation. For the last two months it had been evident that her strength was rapidly declining; and at every stage during the journey it was visibly decreasing more and more. Yet her courage was constant to her. Elizabeth persisted in her journey, in spite of the opinion of the physicians, and the most urgent entreaties of the persons of her suite, who conjured her to halt. At length, however, the prostration of

* The Princess Sophia, the prince's wife, and their daughter Alexandrina, lady of honour to the empress, as also her relation the Princess Barba Volkonski, likewise accompanied Elizabeth on this last journey.

her strength was such, that a courier was despatched in all haste to the empress-mother, who had arrived at Kalouga, to inform her of the danger of her daughter, and to engage her on the part of the august patient,—for she was too feeble to write,—to advance as far as Béleff, a small town in the government of Toula, half-way between Orel and Kalouga.

Providence did not grant the unfortunate princess the fulfilment of her last desire.

On arriving at Béleff, her debility was extreme. She retired to rest before night, but was unwilling that her ladies, or even her worthy Doctor Stoffregen, should be deprived of sleep on her account: only one of her attendants was to remain near her, that she might hear her voice in case she should call her. The utmost tranquillity prevailed in the house; and everybody was beginning to feel more assured, for Elizabeth was able to conceal the imminent danger of her indisposition from all about her. She seemed to be enjoying a tranquil slumber. But, about four in the morning, the silence continuing longer than usual, the person appointed to watch approached the bed of the patient, and immediately perceived a change in her features. Being frightened, she called up the physician and the ladies of honour. The death of the righteous is a glorification of God: and happy is he who witnesses it! Hardly had the persons who had been summoned surrounded the bed of the patient when she quietly surrendered her soul to her Creator. A moment before, the blood, rushing back to her pale cheeks, once more enlivened her sweet countenance: about to appear before the Eternal Being, Elizabeth had recovered the

beauty that had adorned her youth, but which the climate of Russia had, soon after her arrival, deteriorated. It was like the reflection of a heavenly ray. After that transitory glow of nature, her lips gently opened and the breath of life escaped. It was the 16th of May, and shortly after four in the morning. The countenance of the empress remained impressed with that serenity and unalterable calmness which the remembrance of her whole life and the consciousness of having honoured the throne by the practice of the highest virtues, ought naturally to produce. "Was not that strong-minded woman," (says an article published in honour of her and from which we borrow these lines) "about to receive from the hands of her husband a still more glorious crown than the diadem she wore on earth, which shone but seldom amid the pomps of the age, but the reflection of which ever cheered the refuge of indigence and misfortune, as also those pious institutions in which young girls of obscure condition were brought up to the duties of their sex, from the example set by a sovereign who was at once their honour and their model."

Elizabeth was in the 48th year of her age, and had not survived her husband five months.

The Empress Mary, having left Kalouga in haste, was at Peremyschl when she received the fatal news. Two hours later, she was once more in the presence of death, but of a death, the image of the sleep of the righteous dreaming of the joys of paradise.

"I myself knew that august couple," says a Russian poet, whom direful misfortunes have endowed with inspiration: "he was as charming as hope; she as

delightful as felicity. It seems but yesterday when Catherine adorned their youthful brows with nuptial crowns of roses, soon to be succeeded by diadems; but alas! much too soon did the genius of death crown their pale brows with poppies! What then is life!"

After having given free vent to her grief and performed the duties of religion towards the departed, Maria Foëdorovna again set out for Moscow, where she had other duties to fulfil towards another daughter-in-law. On the 26th of May, Helen Paulovna gave birth to a grand-duchess; at the end of a month, this infant, on being presented for baptism in the church of the convent of Miracles (*Tchoudoff*) by the empress-mother, received the name of Elizabeth. Her excellent mother taught her afterwards how to be worthy of so great a name: but she has been summoned by her Creator into the presence of her model. Having become Duchess of Nassau, she died in her first confinement in 1844, and two years afterwards her elder sister followed her into a better world.*

After receiving this new message of death, long foreseen yet unexpected at the moment, the emperor immediately ordered all the preparations for the festivals to be discontinued, forbade every kind of amusement, and ordered again a strict mourning, which was to last six months from the 16th of May. A minute ceremonial assigned their respective costume to all the

* The Grand-Duchess Maria Mikhaïlovna died at Vienna towards the end of 1846. The death of Elizabeth was followed at a short interval by that of the celebrated historian Karamzin. We shall speak of him, as also of some other remarkable persons who died in the course of the year 1826, in Note (19) of the Appendix in the present volume.

persons composing the court, or likely to appear there under any title whatsoever;* the mourning dresses, the crapes, hatbands, the black hangings for the coaches, and those already prescribed, to the first two classes after the death of Alexander, for a private room in their mansions, appeared again in every respect as it had been five months before, and the coronation was provisionally adjourned. It seemed to be a decree of Providence that this period of painful trials should be prolonged that, being fruitful in salutary reflections, it might leave a more lasting impression.

From Béleff to St. Petersburg, the funeral procession had to travel 257 leagues. This journey was performed in twenty-four days; but we will omit the description, as the scenes already depicted on the occasion of the funeral of Alexander were for the most part repeated, accompanied by a manifestation of grief no less sincere.

The house at Béleff where the empress had breathed her last, was purchased by the government: it is henceforth to be an asylum for twenty-four poor widows, supported at the expense of the treasury, and under the special protection of the reigning empress.

On the 26th of June, the funeral procession entered

* The form of the dress is prescribed in every particular, varied according to the four periods of mourning; nay, the government measures out to the different classes the length of the hatbands, and the length of the skirts of the robes; it chooses, also, the stuff, not forgetting the shoes, gloves, and fans. The use of powder is declared lawful, and, moreover, the regulation of mourning contains the following still more singular article:—"It is lawful for persons of either sex, whatever be their condition, to wear ordinary black dresses throughout the period of mourning." See "Journal de St. Petersbourg," 1826, No. 59. These

the capital. Throughout its course, the bells of the churches of ten different forms of worship tolled the funeral knells, and minute guns shook with their thundering explosion that light soil derived from the marshes of Ingria. The body reclined upon the same car of ceremony that had transported the mortal remains of Alexander. Ladies decorated with the order of St. Catherine, and the maids of honour who had accompanied the empress in her last journey, walked on each side of the coffin, between two rows of sixty pages, chosen from the highest nobility, and bearing torches. Behind the car walked the emperor, having on one hand his brother-in-law, Prince Charles of Prussia, who had lately arrived on the part of the king of that monarchy, to represent him in the ceremony of the coronation, and on the other the Duke and the two Princes of Wurtemberg. His supporters were on this occasion Count de Langeron, general-in-chief, a French emigrant who was numbered among the successors of the noble Duke de Richelieu in the general government of New-Russia,* and Count Tolstoï, commander-in-chief of the 5th corps of the army, whom we have seen performing the same duty at the funeral of Alexander. Near them was Prince Peter Volkonski, who had now fulfilled his mission. Then came a long line of carriages: first, the empress, with

serious enactments occupy pages in the newspapers, the first column of which is generally found more than sufficient to contain all the news about Russia.

* He died lately in France, and is said to have left some memoirs, which appear to have been consulted by M. Thiers when he wrote the battle of Austerlitz, where Langeron had commanded a division of the Russian army.

the hereditary grand-duke, and the princess Mary of Wurtemberg; next, the two dethroned queens of Iméreth and the queen-regent of Mingrelia, who likewise lived in private retirement; after them the first ladies in attendance on the empress, the Countess de Litta and the Princess Lapoukhin; behind them were the damsels of honour *à portrait*, of whom there were three at that period, Catherine Nelidoff, Countess Anne Orloff Tchesmenski, and Catherine Valouïeff, the two former being ladies of the 2nd class of the order of St. Catherine, and the third adorned only with the memory of the confidence with which Elizabeth, whom she had accompanied to Taganrog, had always honoured her; lastly, the maids of honour,* and all the ladies of the first four classes.†

* They were about a hundred in number, and among them were several daughters of kings, for instance,—the Princesses Thamar, Helen, and Salomé of Georgia.

† For the *tchinn*, see vol. i. In the first class there are seldom more than two or three persons at once; however, at that period, besides the Princess Lapoukhin, lady of honour, there were several widows of field-marshals. One, the Countess Prascovie Moussine-Pouschkin, was then on her death-bed, and died on the 8th of July, 1826, aged 73. She was lady of honour to the empresses and lady of the order of St. Catherine, being the daughter of Prince Vassili Dolgorouki-Krymski, general-in-chief, and widow of Field-Marshal Count Valentine Moussine-Pouschkin, who was descended from an ancient family of boïars and died in 1804. The Princess Koutousoff had also just died, and the pension of 96,000 roubles which she had enjoyed, had been continued to her five daughters. But it is said that the widows of Count Nicholas Kamenski (who died in 1811), of Prince Alexander Prosorofski (who died in 1809), of Prince Barclay de Tolly (who died in 1818), and even of Count Tchernycheff (who died in 1784), were still living. The latter, who had been godmother to the Emperor Alexander, was still lady of honour *à portrait* in 1829, and lady of the first class of the order of St. Catherine. It is stated that her husband the field-marshal, who had left her a widow very

The car halted before the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul at half-past seven: under the porch stood the archbishop and other members of the holy synod, and the higher clergy, behind whom were all the clergy of the court, waiting for the body to conduct it to the church, where it was placed upon the *catafalco*. The emperor, the empress, the prince and princesses in the procession, and, after them, the whole court followed in their train. The funeral service then began. Amid so many painful impressions, thus continued and renewed, the Empress Alexandra felt her strength forsake her: she was unable to remain to the end of the solemn ceremony; and the emperor himself retired shortly afterwards. The Gospels were read after their departure; but they were continued to be read day and night throughout the week that the body remained lying in state; and the emperor and the empress returned more than once to join in the morning and evening prayers. The whole population attended, and nobody approached that bier without paying homage in his heart to the virtues of the noble woman whose life had been to all a lesson of self-abnegation and devotion.

The 3rd of July, the day appointed for the burial, summoned once more to the sanctuary of death the imperial couple, together with the whole court, the great authorities of the state, the principal civil and military functionaries, and the *corps diplomatique*, to which the arrival of so many extraordinary embassies had given an aspect of imposing grandeur. The pupils

young, was related to Peter the Great, and that he resembled him; the same thing, however, is said of Field-Marshal Roumantsoff.

of the Patriotic Society of Ladies, and those of the House of Industry (*Troudoloubié*), together with those of their schools, accompanied by the governesses and inspectresses, stood in the nave, ready to shower upon the coffin of their benefactress the homage of well-deserved gratitude. The last prayers were offered up, and all murmured a final farewell;* then utter silence prevailed, which the melodious and thrilling voices of the choir around the altar no longer interrupted. The emperor and the empress went for the last time and kissed the coffin, which was immediately lifted up and borne towards the tomb, preceded by the archbishop and the clergy. An open sarcophagus by the side of Alexander's was in readiness for the mortal remains of Elizabeth. The narrow tomb received her, and soon a cold stone closed over her, henceforth shielded from the tumult of a world she had never loved, and from its frivolous magnificence, to which she had been always indifferent.

This pomp, this grand display of power, even on the very threshold of eternity, is pleasing to the multitude; by striking their imagination, it enables royalty to preserve its fascinating spell; but true royalty,—that which consists in a virtuous life,—has no need of such idle parade; and it is not to this, nor to the splendour of a crown that the memory of Elizabeth, deeply engraven on every heart of sensibility, will owe its well-earned immortality.

* "Dust to dust," says the officiating minister; and, at the end, he adds, in the name of all the congregation, "eternally remembered!"

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPIATION.

When Nicholas, in the manifesto touching his coronation, signed in the beginning of May, fixed the celebration of this august ceremony to take place on some day or other in the month of June, not then determined, he calculated that at that period a painful duty, the agonizing expectation of which it was inexpedient to prolong amid a population invited to partake a joyous festival, would have been completed; he had presumed that justice would have been executed on the authors and abettors of the conspiracy who were at that time crowding every prison of state, and that the fate of those unfortunate men, thus removed at once from public attention, would not interrupt the public rejoicings, in a country where people soon forget, and every emotion is entirely superficial.

Indeed, the critical moment was fast approaching. The commission of inquiry was urging forward as fast as possible the colossal proceedings with which it was charged, and which, relating to several hundreds of individuals, either prisoners or witnesses, had, in the short space of five or six months, to investigate an event the different ramifications of which extended over a period of about fifteen years. "The commission had been enjoined," says the emperor himself in a mani-

festo, "to inquire into the whole of the business, to get at the very root of the evil, to discover its origin, to follow all its ramifications, to state its progress and extent, and lastly to ground the results of the inquiry, not upon suspicions or probabilities, but upon certain, peremptory, and incontestable proofs." The commission had done all in its power to fulfil the monarch's intentions. It had made every possible investigation, hastened its labours, unfolded the whole plot, conducted the proceedings of justice with much moderation towards the most guilty parties, and made the strictness of principle subordinate to reasons of state towards certain men whose transgressions were perhaps no less great, but whose position did not admit of their being mixed up in such a cause, without creating powerful enemies; for fear also of making some new and still more painful discoveries, of recognising for instance, in the actions the suggestions of his father, mother, or some other near relation whom it would have hesitated to include in the prosecution, or again of divulging to all the spirit prevailing in certain localities, among certain classes, and in a whole division of the army. "After more than five months' labour continued every day with indefatigable zeal," says the same manifesto, "having duly weighed and carefully verified every circumstance, deposition, and fact, removing every conjecture and bare suspicion, grounding opinion only on the evidence, on the very declarations of the accused, or on means of conviction which no longer left even the shadow of a doubt, and in short allowing the accused every latitude and facility that they needed for their defence, the commission has

completed the task it had to perform; it has just laid before us a definitive report on the whole of its investigations, accompanied with all the original documents on which it is grounded."

These original documents, a precious source of intimate information for the judges, will remain buried in the mysterious archives of the Russian chanceries, if they have not been already removed for ever from the indiscreet investigations of history. By way of compensation, the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry," signed and presented to the autocrat on the 11th of June, received the publicity for which it had doubtless been purposely written, but not before undergoing, at least it is natural to suppose so, the previous censorship of the government and the head of the state. The reader knows, from what we have related, all the contents of this "Report."

Nicholas appeared to be satisfied with it, and proclaimed the results of the inquiry in a manifesto signed on the 13th of June, 1826.

We may just state, in passing, that this was the eve of a day on which a neighbouring empire, a long time its rival, effected a revolution in a direction inverse to that which had been planned by the Russian conspirators,—a revolution which strengthened that empire, and for that very reason appeared contrary to the interests of the cabinet of St. Petersburg; accordingly, it was not devoid of influence on the warlike determinations which were afterwards displayed.*

The Russian revolt had been a badly devised and

* We shall say a few words on this subject in Note (20) among the Notes and Explanations in this volume.

unseasonable attempt, made in the spirit and under the inspiration of modern liberalism: that of which the capital of the Ottomans was in its turn the scene, and which occasioned the dissolution of the militia of the janissaries, was a desperate effort in favour of old abuses, under the influence of which the Turkish empire incapable of supporting the struggle with the military organization of the European powers, was falling completely into dissolution. In 1826, this empire was still at the point where Russia had been 100 years before, under a monarch whom the energetic Mahmoud II. in many respects resembled. Just as Peter I., to be master of his own kingdom, annihilated for ever the unruly corps of the *strelitz*, obstinately attached to their privileges and all the ancient usages, but seldom disposed to leave their wives and families to support the interests of their native land in the battle-field; even so the padicha resolved to rid himself of those insolent janissaries, who, formidable to the sovereign alone, did nothing to preserve the integrity of the empire, which, for five years, had been kept in check by the petty nation of Greece. If he did not, like the Muscovite czar, seize the axe with his own hand to chop off the heads of all the offenders on the block, he nevertheless opened the war in person, and stopped its effects only when it had produced the desired result. He, himself, carried to the grand vizier the *sand-jacchérif*, the sacred standard, made of a piece of the prophet's garments, the appearance of which announced a deadly struggle, and the imminent danger of the country; he caused the Atmeidan to be besieged by his new troops of *topchi* (artillerymen)

and of *kumbaradji* (bombardiers), and, after a battle in which more than 3,000 officers and soldiers of the militia were killed, he gave the atrocious, but perhaps necessary order, to set fire to the barracks of the janissaries, and to put to the sword all who were found. Mahmoud afterwards devolved on the terrible Hussein pacha the office of executing justice on the rebels who had escaped from that massacre,* and it is well known with what horrible energy the latter performed his task. Seated beneath a tent, in the front court of the seraglio, whither the sad remainder of the *ortas* were brought, he indicated to the executioners with a mere nod the victims that were to be sacrificed. The example set at Constantinople was imitated throughout the provinces of the empire: it is stated that 15,000 of the janissaries lost their lives, and that 20,000 more were exiled into Asia.

But, after this digression, justified, we think, by the coincidence of events, let us return to Russia, where there was no longer any question of janissaries, for the militia of the strelitz had been annihilated a century before; where, far from still defending old abuses, people had been, on the contrary, conspiring to gain institutions and to put the country on a level with the states in the West, which were more advanced in civilization.

The manifesto with which the emperor accompanied

* The rebellion was quelled, and the corps of janissaries destroyed for ever. But the terrible conflagration which burst out at Constantinople, on the 19th of August following, and which consumed more than 5,000 houses, was a manifest symptom of the popular fury and the thirst of vengeance by which the remnants of the janissaries were actuated.

the publication of the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry," deserves to engage our attention for one moment longer.* "When in the very first days of our reign," says this document, "the impenetrable decrees of the Most High had revealed to us a horrible design, which had been already going on for ten years in the dark, we perceived *the finger of God invisibly tracing out our conduct and our duties;* we comprehended the more fully the sacredness of these duties, that the origin of the plot took place long before our accession to the throne, and that it did not endanger our person alone but the whole of Russia."

The first step was taken: the charges impending over each individual were clearly defined, and the guilty were no longer able to escape the vengeance of the laws. Yet all did not deserve this appellation in the same degree. "From the examination of the 'Report' and the vouchers," continues the manifesto, "there result two evidently distinct species of accusations: the former of the most serious character, belong to *crimes of high treason,* long premeditated projects, maintained and brought to maturity with an obstinate determination, constantly and invariably directed toward the criminal end proposed; the latter relate to errors arising either from weakness of character, or blind confidence, a want of penetration sufficient to discover the secret of the real conspirators, a momentary impulse of the passions, followed by repentance, and, in general, wavering intentions, without any fixed object, and which especially cannot be charged with any

* It is to be found in the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," 1826, No. 69.

participation in overt acts of rebellion. It is clear from the very nature of the offence that the culprits of this class incur the application of merely *correctional* penalties; but as to the individuals charged with the former offences, who, more or less connected with the main spring of this plot, have been acquainted with its real intentions, *they shall all be included in the same judgment*, though they be not all guilty in the same degree."

We underline a few words at the end of this passage because they are not quite in accordance with the manner in which things really took place. Thus, Captain Maïefski, the head of the Templars, Baron Solovieff and several of his brethren of the association of the United Sclavons, were not included in the first judgment. Their condemnation is of later date; and the sentence which overtook Captain Igelstrem, Lieutenant Wægelin, and a few of their accomplices, was not even pronounced till June 1827, a few months before the end of the Polish trial.

As to the substance of the paragraph, it is clear that it was the emperor who arranged the accused parties in the two categories laid down: some amenable to the criminal law, others to the correctional. Doubtless he did so in accordance with the conclusions,—unknown however,—of the Commission of Inquiry; but having been appointed by himself on a special occasion, this commission could not be considered as an independent judicial authority. In countries where justice is surrounded with all its dignity, the regulations of judges belong only to them, the proper organs of the law: any kind of tribunal, once regularly in possession of a

cause, either keeps it or else sends it before other judges, according to the manner in which it determines upon the accusation. It is thus, for instance, that the court of peers proceeds in France: it exercises its right of instituting the preliminary proceedings concurrently with the attorney-general (*chef du parquet*), and proceeds to judgment only when on the one hand it acknowledges itself to be competent, and, on the other, when the accusation appears to be well founded. Should it decline, it is by no means the government that interferes: justice, in that case, follows its ordinary course, and the accused parties are sent before such as have the legal power to try them. In Russia the regulations of the judges belong, generally speaking, to the senate *in pleno*, but the autocrat has not abandoned this right; he exercises it without either control or publicity. In the case before us, the fate of a considerable number of officers was decided by orders of the day given in the name of the emperor, at the end of July or in the beginning of August, and which scarcely came to the knowledge of the public.* Imprisonment from one to six months in a fortress; removal from the corps of the imperial guard to the army, from one regiment to another, or from one of the two capitals into a distant garrison, without loss of nobility or of any acquired rights,—such were the correctional penalties inflicted by these special measures; measures of clemency they doubtless were, but arbitrary, and depriving the justest penalties of that sanction of law which alone can acquire for them the respect of mankind.

* At the very utmost, they were inserted in the "Senate Gazette," published in Russian and in German.

Acts of this nature could only relate to military men; and yet, among the persons who underwent correctional penalties, there were doubtless many belonging to other classes.* The order of the day of the 28th of July, related to General Michael Orloff: he was restored to liberty and to the enjoyment of his rank and honours, but incapacitated thenceforth from being again admitted into the service, and from inhabiting either of the two capitals. Those of the first days of August decided the fate of thirty-three individuals,† of whom five were colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, and several inferior officers, among whom figured three princes, a count of an illustrious name, and several other members of families known to history.

* Of this number was the Councillor Paul K——, member of the council of regency in the government of Moscow. A decree given in his case on the 30th of July, 1826, stated that he was dismissed and could never be readmitted into any branch of the public service. The priest compromised in the revolt of Vassilkoff is mentioned in no act either judicial or extrajudicial. His fate was doubtless referred to the decision of the ecclesiastical authority which, probably, caused him to be confined in some distant convent for the rest of his life.

† We know their names, but think we ought to suppress them, in order not to subject them to a notoriety from which they have been saved by the clemency of the emperor. If we make an exception with respect to Colonel Foëdor Glinka, already mentioned, it is because the name of this officer, formerly aide-de-camp to General Miloradovitch, and a distinguished author, is too much esteemed to have anything to dread from the remembrance of the trials of 1826; moreover, the penalty inflicted upon him was trifling. Being at that time colonel of the Izmaïloff regiment and attached to the staff, he was dismissed, but was afterwards permitted to return to the service with the rank of college councillor. The town of Petrozavodsk (in the government of Olentz) was appointed provisionally as the place of his retirement. As to the names implicated in the criminal procedure, they have received too much publicity from the documents of that trial, and by their being inserted in the newspapers, for us to have any scruple about publishing them in full.

The rest of the accused were given over to the criminal court; but we shall nevertheless see that imperial absolutism did not completely abstain from all interference in the definitive disposal of them.

Under ordinary circumstances, every criminal process in which a certain number of accused persons are included, ought to be judged by the acting senate. But, in cases of high treason, this rule has at all times been infringed by the establishment of a special tribunal, of which the senate formed only the foundation. Thus it was that, in 1764, in the trial of Mirovitch and his accomplices, who had endeavoured to put an end to the captivity of the young czar, Ioann Antonovitch, Catherine II. had added to this supreme court, the holy synod, the first three classes, and the presidents of all the colleges.* In the present trial, by virtue of the sovereign will, from which everything emanates in Russia, the tribunal was composed of the first three orders of the state,—the council of the empire, the acting senate, and the holy synod, and fifteen persons chosen out of the superior ranks of the army, and high civil functionaries were moreover called upon to sit there.†

Thus composed, the *high court* offered, we must confess, every kind of guarantee, both from the great number of its members (about eighty), and from the character of the most eminent among them. The name of Admiral Mordvinoff, nearly eighty years of age, but a man of indefatigable activity, that of the Senator Engel, an incorruptible magistrate, and several

* Ukase of the 17th of August, 1764.

† We will give the list of them in our Notes and Explanations, Note (21).

others generally and deservedly esteemed, called to mind the most elevated sentiments and the practice of every virtue. The priestly members of the holy synod, as ministers of a God of mercy, would naturally be inclined towards clemency. Several of the councillors of the empire were no less favourably disposed, on beholding members of families, related to them either by ties of kindred or friendship, seated on the benches of the accused, on thinking especially of their own sons, several of whom had narrowly escaped occupying that fatal seat. Lastly, as to the senators, exposed to the influence of social relations, entreated by common friends, and also in a better position than any beside to appreciate the justness of some of the griefs of the conspirators, there was far less reason to believe that they would be pitiless, as the example of indulgence had been set from the throne, and expressed in language in which savage passions or abject servility found not the slightest encouragement. The reader may judge of this from the following extract towards the end of the manifesto, the most remarkable of the other paragraphs of which have already been given.

"By such an organization of the tribunal, it has been our desire not only to maintain the authority of ancient usages, but to shew likewise that we have never ceased to consider this matter as the cause of every Russian inspired with the love of his native land, in other words, as the cause of the whole empire.

"In confiding the fate of the accused to this supreme court, we expect from it, and demand of it nothing but impartial justice, strictly founded upon the laws and the strength and clearness of the evidence.

"When judgment has been pronounced, and after an account thereof has been given to us, the decree shall be published, together with all the particulars of the procedure."*

The presidency of the high court was conferred, at least nominally, on old Prince Lapoukhin, the president of the council of the empire; and Prince Labanoff Rostofski, the minister of justice, was entrusted with the performance of the functions incident to his office as attorney-general.

The court, thus constituted, met on the 15th of June, at the palace of the senate, under the protection of a guard of honour, furnished, over and above the ordinary grand post, by the imperial guard. The regiment of the chevalier-guards mounted first. The sittings *in pleno* were not very numerous, for the court devolved all the preparatory labour on a commission appointed among its members; the judgment was signed in that of the 20th of July, and the last assembly took place on the 24th, when it received a communication of the monarch's will in relation to the report that had been laid before him.

It was no easy task to pronounce judgment in a political cause, in which the accused parties, to the number of 121, belonged to the greatest families of the empire, to the highest functionaries, to the nobility on duty, as well as to the hereditary nobles, and among whom were numbered seven princes, two counts, three barons, two generals, thirteen colonels, ten lieutenant-colonels, &c. In appearance, at least, the preliminary

* These words were not followed to the letter. Notices on each of the accused parties were not published.

proceedings left scarcely any room for complant: to judge of them by the contents of the "Report," in which nothing seemed to indicate an extravagant inquisitorial severity on the part of the Commission of Inquiry, this first operation seems to have been made with care, and it was affirmed that a complete avowal of their guilt had been obtained from all the prisoners, excepting four.* But were not these appearances fallacious? Was it possible to put entire confidence in them, or was it not lawful to entertain some doubts on the nature of the confessions that were elicited? Had those avowals been made freely, without any intimidation, violence, or moral torture (for we banish the very idea of physical torture being employed)? † Were the written interrogatories always conformable to the verbal declarations, and did the prisoners sign nothing but what was the sincere expression of their thoughts and words? We acknowledge that on these serious questions we can give no positive answer. Everything took place secretly, in the silence of dungeons, without any protective control, or without the accused parties having the liberty of making themselves heard, in order to repel gratuitous suppositions, or to correct perverted statements. We would gladly believe in the perfect fairness of the proceedings, but we must not conceal the fact, that we have no other security than the character of the men who had been charged to undertake them.

* Nicholas Tourgueneff, absent, Prince Chakhofskoï, Lieutenant Tsébrikoff, and Gorski.

† The imperial manifesto of the 25th of July, affirms that "the Commission of Inquiry succeeded, by the effect of its zeal, exactness, and im-

However, till the present time, nobody, as far as we know, has brought any charge against their good faith; we do not speak of the victims themselves, sequestered from the world ever since their condemnation; but none of their relations or friends have ever protested on their account. And yet a free press in foreign countries would have afforded them the means of undertaking the defence of oppressed innocence, and of repelling the calumnious imputations founded upon pretended confessions or false depositions. If such had really been the character of the interrogatories, what must one think of a nation that would accept in silence the decisions of justice transacted in such a manner, and where, out of the families of a hundred and twenty-one condemned individuals, some of whom were near relations of ministers and other personages of high station,* not one had had the courage to renounce his country to go and pay free homage to truth, and to unmask fraud and hypocrisy?

Whatever may have been the nature of the preliminary proceedings, they ought not to have imposed themselves as a law upon the conscience of the judges. The court ought to have investigated everything itself, weighed scrupulously the charges, and the depositions of the witnesses, the means of defence of the accused, and even their confessions, which, in strict justice, are valid only as far as they are confirmed by proof. In a word, its duty was to examine thoroughly into the

partiality, and by employing the means of persuasion, in moving the hearts of the most hardened criminals, in awakening remorse, and in inducing them to make *free and sincere avowals.*"

* And consequently well informed of all that had happened.

affair, independently of the preparatory labours of the Commission, by which nothing ought to have been prejudiced.

Unfortunately, this duty was not perhaps entirely fulfilled. We are assured that the necessary calmness did not prevail in the assembly. It represented old Russia, with her servile customs, her stationary spirit, and her prejudices hostile to liberal ideas; and in presence of men who had wished to change everything, who represented in their persons young Russia, actuated with very different sentiments, it did not guard itself sufficiently from a certain irritation of temper, incompatible with that imperturbability of a judge, without which justice is but an idle word. It is an established fact that, the court did not accept all the consequences of its mandate: it durst not summon the accused into its presence to give a solemn hearing to their declarations and means of defence. It was withheld from doing so by fears which are not very creditable. Being brought before a tribunal composed of so many functionaries, all of whom were doubtless not irreproachable, and whose career afforded acts which might become texts upon which the accused might make all sorts of comments; or else,—and this was the very least that could happen,—being placed upon an exalted theatre before a numerous court, whose members belonged partly to persons who were in constant communication with the emperor, and where the slightest word might acquire the greatest notoriety, it was thought that the leaders of the conspiracy would seek to avail themselves of this circumstance, not to exculpate themselves,—for they had sacrificed their

lives,—but to play out their part to the last, in order to proclaim their wrongs in public, and to stand forth as heroes before the country, and before posterity. The court expected there would be some furious declamation which it might be difficult to restrain. Moreover, being exasperated against one another, after mutual denunciations, it was perhaps dangerous to confront them all with each other. Such were the fears of the court. Consequently, it refused to admit the prisoners into its presence, and it delegated a commission, chosen out of its own body, to repair to their dungeons, question each separately, confront their language with their depositions and confessions, and present to the court the result of this new inquiry, which, like the former, remained, therefore, secret. Thus, whoever would form a conscientious idea of the facts of this trial, finds himself without any means of arriving at it.

As to allowing the prisoners to have counsel, it was a question that could not be entertained. We have already mentioned that in Russia justice does not admit any oral defence, and that even a written defence scarcely ever meets any attention in trials at the criminal court. Doubtless, the custom was not until of late years very different in England; but in that country, where legality is deeply rooted, the judge is the natural defender of the accused, and reports with equal care the facts which bear against him and those which are favourable to him. In England, everything is a guarantee for the man who is overtaken by the arm of the law; in Russia, everything depends on the caprice of sovereign authority, reputed infallible, and which,

whenever it directs a prosecution against a person, is supposed to be always proceeding on good grounds.

By this manner of conducting it, the trial became singularly simplified. But what penalties will be applied? The old Russian laws, generally like those of Draco, are particularly ruthless in what relates to crimes against the state. In every act of high treason, lège-majesté, military rebellion, or taking up arms, both principals and abettors, real accomplices and the merely initiated, are alike liable to suffer death—a death accompanied with a variety of tortures, worthy of the worst days of the middle ages. These penal enactments were not abolished, nor have they been even since the publication of the new code; accordingly it would be wrong to consider the Russian penal legislation as sparing of human blood. It preserves the lives of brigands and assassins, because the empire possesses mines to be turned to account, into which the free workman refuses to descend; and because there are, beyond the confines of Europe, immense wildernesses to be peopled, boundless regions to be cultivated, in climates to which the most magnificent promises would not entice the simple colonists. It grants such offenders their lives, but on this awful contingency, that an iron constitution prevent them from expiring beneath the fifty or the hundred lashes inflicted with the knout upon their bare backs.

Though the law does not mention death, it is nevertheless frequently given by the knout: we must, therefore, not laud too highly the pretended sensibility of Elizabeth Pétrovna, who, in abolishing capital punishments in ordinary criminal cases, allowed this other

punishment, which is much more barbarous, and often followed by the same effect, to subsist. In what relates to political crimes, the pain of death is expressly maintained: people may still be torn in quarters in Russia, even as they may be impaled at Constantinople, and broken alive on the wheel even in Prussia, an enlightened country, where the most solid civilization has penetrated into every class. Let us hasten to add that the barbarity of the laws has ever found a counterpoise in the humanity of princes, and that, in political cases, commutation of punishment is the more readily practised, as Europe is naturally on the watch: it is for none but obscure criminals that the atrocious chastisements of the old Muscovite legislation are reserved: for instance, that of *running the gauntlet*, where honest soldiers are transformed into ignoble executioners, and blood runs no less plentifully than beneath the iron thongs of the knout.*

We shall presently see the high court proclaiming this excessive severity of the Russian law to be salutary, and perhaps it is not altogether unjustifiable. It is a sad thing to say, but in a country constituted like Russia, whose population is composed of men with strong passions and hard-skinned bodies, in whom the principles of morality are far from having any permanent foundation; in a country, moreover, boundless, difficult to keep an eye upon, and where crime has greater facilities than elsewhere to escape from public vengeance, it is perhaps salutary to inculcate in all men the terror of chastisement, in order that no one

* The sufferer has to walk five or ten times through the open ranks of a thousand soldiers.

may easily give way to the temptation of despising the threats of the law. However this may be, upon the first glance at the legislation in force, the high court perceived and declared unanimously, "that the crimes specified in the indictments, and confirmed two several times by the confessions of the accused themselves, incurred, without any exception, the penalty of death."* "In the precise terms of the law," adds the court, in its report, "this single and unanimous decree terminated the trial. In such cases, the severity of our penal code admits of no variation. . . . . This *salutary rigour* of our legislation can be tempered only by the clemency of the sovereign;† but these modifications can constitute only a special exception in a known and determined case, and not the universal rule, which is immutable, and uniform in its principle and in its effects."

The emperor considered it in the same light; the language of the court was only the echo of his own sentiments. He stood ready to interpose and commute the penalties, for he knew that the whole world was regarding him narrowly; besides which, being really inclined towards clemency, he was loath to inaugurate his reign by the sanguinary execution of 121 miserable beings; he was unwilling to receive the holy unction under the weight of the maledictions of so many decimated families. On this occasion, therefore, humanity had reason to rejoice in the boundless power possessed by the sovereign in Russia;

* See the "Report" addressed to the emperor by the high court of justice. "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," 1826, No. 86.

† Which is not here the right of pardoning.

but the further progress of this procedure, nevertheless, presents a very strange spectacle. Nicholas had caused to be framed "a series of additional rules based on the general order of juridical procedure,"—rules which were rather substituted for the ancient laws than added to them. It is by these rules that we must explain that passage in the "Report" in which the imperial clemency and right of pardon are mentioned, without these terms signifying one and the same thing. To lay down a gradation of penalties by categories, says this "Report," in terms somewhat more diffuse than ours, cannot be a deed of the law; by so doing, nevertheless, the court conforms to an express manifestation of the imperial will; it acts by virtue of an exception commanded, but confined to this single case. Indeed, the additional rules prescribed "that the high court had to determine how far circumstances particular to each of the accused parties were calculated to aggravate or extenuate their participation in the crime common to all; that it should undertake to form categories corresponding to the different degrees of culpability; that it should pronounce penalties proportioned to each of these degrees; and, lastly, that it should distribute the prisoners among the different categories, according to the degree of their respective culpability." On account of the defectiveness of the laws, the court was, therefore, invested with a discretionary power delegated to it by the imperial authority, and which it might exercise without any scruple, since it emanated from an honourable source,—from motives of moderation and clemency.

Thus the task of the court consisted of two essential

points: first, to graduate culpability by establishing a certain number of categories; and, secondly, to place in the same each of the persons accused.

To form the categories, a second commission was appointed by the court from among its members. It was to take for the basis of its operations, not only the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry," but also the vouchers with which it was accompanied, and which contained substantiated notices on each of the prisoners. These notices, drawn up according to the depositions of the witnesses for the prosecution, or from the interrogatories undergone by the prisoners, and from the confessions obtained from them, formed a part of the examination, and we have already seen that a former commission was considered to have verified its exactness contradictorily with the accused; this commission declared it had by these means ascertained the inquiry had been made with scrupulous exactness. Now the inspection of these fresh documents led the new commission to lay down first of all three principal *kinds* of crimes: 1st, a regicide plot; 2ndly, plotting by means of secret societies aiming at a general revolt; 3rdly, a military insurrection. In each kind, the *degrees* were marked, according as the person accused had taken a part in the execution of the plot, had only adhered to its intentions, or had simply had knowledge of it without denouncing it. In these degrees again, note was taken of *shades of difference*, such as these: had there been a spontaneous offer to commit an act of conspiracy, or only an instigation to do so? Was the attempt intended against the life of members of the imperial family, or against their

liberty? Had the person co-operated in establishing and directing secret societies, or had he only participated actively in their views previously determined? Had there been any participation in the military insurrection, with or without bloodshed, with or without entire knowledge of the secret aim, &c., &c.? This classification being once determined, the categories were deduced according to the following manner of reasoning: the prisoner convicted of all three kinds of crimes, and whose offences, moreover, in each kind bore the most serious character, was, incontestably, to occupy the first rank. After him would come those who, being found guilty of two kinds of crimes, presented themselves under the weight of those charges with the most serious characters in either, but whose culpability in the third kind was of an inferior degree, or even altogether null. In the manner of acting of the commission, there was also occasion to admit aggravating or extenuating circumstances. They found aggravating circumstances in the fatal consequences which criminal examples might have occasioned by the annihilation of military discipline, or by sanguinary acts inspired by atrocious ferocity; and this latter kind of aggravation appeared to the commission so decisive that they considered it their duty to make it the basis of a rubric apart from every category. The extenuating circumstances which they wished to take into consideration were symptoms of repentance, such as the forsaking the secret societies, the desire the prisoners had shewn of changing their views, and the disavowal of whatever was horrible in their projects; individual acts proper to the accused, likely

to extenuate their transgressions; the promptitude and sincerity with which they had given their depositions during the course of the inquiry; and, lastly, extreme youth, which accounted for the deplorable facility with which certain of the accused parties had allowed themselves to be enticed into factious associations.

When the commission had caused these different considerations to be admitted by the court, it laid down according to them a scale of penalty, composed of eleven categories, independently of the one which remained apart on account of the enormity of the crimes. The court acknowledged and repeated that to be included in any one of them, even though it were the last, was to have incurred capital punishment, according to the rigour of the law; however, the will of the sovereign having declared itself averse to the strict enforcement of those Draconic laws, it reserved the penalty of death, and moreover the penalty of simple death, by decapitation, only for the first category, so that it was obliged to reduce gradually the penalty from that degree downwards. Yet, being informed of the emperor's inclinations, it seemed to fear lest he should carry his clemency too far: at all events, this apprehension is expressed in the following lines of its report. "Doubtless the law cannot set bounds to this clemency (this time the court probably means the right of pardon) which forms the noblest privilege of supreme authority. The court ventures nevertheless to observe in this place, that, among the crimes it has noted, there are some of such an atrocious nature and so nearly connected with the safety of the state, that

they seem to be *interdicted* from even the hope of clemency from the sovereign."

It cannot be denied that equity guided the court in these decisions, yet one is astonished to see the exorbitant importance which it attaches to the fact of a culprit having been a member of a secret association. Ought this count of the indictment to have been put on a level with that of having entered into a regicide plot, or with that of having taken part in a military insurrection, especially when this matter was traced back as far as 1816, a period when those associations, having become almost an affair of fashion, were in general inoffensive, and when the emperor, on being informed of their existence, seemed inclined to tolerate them? In the opinion of more independent judges, perhaps this fact would have been only an accessory consideration, acquiring importance only from the particular circumstances with which it might have been accompanied.

However this may be, the categories having been once determined, the next question was the distribution of the prisoners under them. Before laying the classification before the court, the commission had convinced themselves by an experiment, that the distinctions made by them were sufficient, and that Gorski was the only person among the accused to whom they were not exactly applicable. The court adopted the classification proposed, confirming it by a special decree relatively to each of the prisoners; it included also in the categories to which they were to belong, Nicholas Tourgueneff, Prince Chakhofskoï, and Lieutenant Tsébrikoff, on whose cases the commission had been un-

decided, the testimony of the facts against them not being supported by their own avowal ;* and, what will appear strange, it abstained completely in what related to Gorski, as being unable to include him in any of the eleven categories, and yet he was in the very same position. It merely laid the solitary case of this accused party before the sovereign, in an extract of the *procès-verbal* relating to his person.†

The court directed therefore a list containing the names of the hundred and twenty other prisoners arranged in twelve classes according to the penalty to which they were condemned, and with an indication of the principal characters of their crimes. This catalogue, laid before the supreme judge, was printed in every newspaper.‡ It may be summed up as follows.

Out of a hundred and twenty-one persons accused, and brought to judgment, the court condemns : *five individuals*, apart from every category, to the pain of death and to be quartered ; *thirty-one individuals*, composing the 1st category to the pain of death, by decapitation ; *seventeen individuals*, forming the 2nd category, to a political death and to be sent to hard labour for life§ (after laying their heads upon the

* We have before said that M. Tourgueneff had left Russia twenty months before. He has protested, from abroad, against most of the imputations laid to his charge.

† He is the same of whom we have spoken in a note. M. Erman terms him a general ; but he was in the civil service, and had the rank of councillor of state. We are not aware what judgment was passed on him ; but we shall see later that he was brought before a special commission ; and M. Erman met with him in Siberia.

‡ "Journal de St. Petersbourg," 1826, No. 87.

§ Termed in Russian *katorjenaïa rabota* or *katorga*, a word derived from κάτεργον, which among the Greeks on the shores of the Black Sea,

block); *two individuals*, forming the 3rd category, to be sent to hard labour for life; *thirty-eight individuals*, of whom the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th categories were composed, to hard labour for a limited term, and afterwards to perpetual exile in Siberia;* *fifteen individuals*, included in the 8th category, to perpetual exile in Siberia, and to be first deprived of their grade and nobility (like those of the preceding categories); *three individuals*, composing the 9th category, to be transported into Siberia (*sylka v'Sibir*) for life, with previous degradation and deprivation of nobility; *one individual*, constituting alone the 10th category, to serve in the ranks as a common soldier, with previous degradation and deprivation of nobility, but with the power of being promoted; *eight individuals*, composing the 11th and last category, to serve as common soldiers but without being deprived of their nobility, and with the same faculty of being promoted.

It would not be unimportant to know by what majority each question was decided; but this is all that

as also among the authors of the Byzantine collection, signified *a ship with oars*. The Russians themselves give the name of *kater* to the long-boat in every ship. Thus, in Russian as in French, the man condemned to hard labour, continues to be designated by the denomination of *galerien*, or galley-slave, and his punishment by that of *galères*, or galleys. In fact, the latter is now in Russia what the ancients used to call *damnatio ad metalla*: it is suffered in the mines of the Ural mountains, in those of Nertchinsk, or in some of the metallurgic factories situated in other parts of the empire.

* In Russian, *na pocélénie*, for colonization, from *célo* or *sélo*, establishment, habitation. In fact, condemned persons belonging to the labouring class or to that of agriculturists, are employed in cultivating new lands; but it was impossible to assign this kind of work to men who were unaccustomed to hard labour and unacquainted with agriculture.

we can find on that head in the "Report" of the high court, an important document, the framing of which is attributed to Spéranski: "The resolutions and decrees, specified above, have been carried either by the absolute plurality of the votes of the whole court, or by the relative majority of opinions in favour of one and the same vote." This explanation is not very clear; but we conclude from it, that for a declaration to be valid, it was sufficient that there should be a simple majority of votes, that is, the half *plus* one of the members of the court then present; and that in cases of a division only, an absolute majority was required, that is, the votes of the half *plus* one of all the members of the court. Perhaps, also, the relative majority decided the questions relating to the categories, and gave afterwards a stronger authority to the resolutions concerning personal questions by taking them only with an absolute majority, which is itself barely deemed sufficient in our countries of liberty to offer a complete guarantee. Doubtless the *additional rules* above-mentioned, would clear up those doubts, if they had reached the knowledge of the public.

A circumstance worthy of remark is moreover recorded in the "Report." "The members of the holy synod," says that document, "summoned to sit in the high court, at the time of the closing of the process, have, conformably to the spirit of their ministry and to ancient precedents,* given their votes in the following terms: "After having heard, in the high court, the

* An example of this kind was given by the members of the holy synod in that trial of Mirovitch and his accomplices which we have mentioned.

reading of the acts of the process relative to the state criminals, Pestel, Ryleïeff, and their accomplices, who have framed a regicide plot and the introduction into Russia of a republican form of government; after having seen their offences stated with the utmost clearness, and corroborated by their own avowals, we acknowledge that these state criminals deserve capital punishment. Consequently, we do not oppose the sentence which will be pronounced against them; but, considering our sacerdotal function, we cannot furnish the said sentence with our signature."

To acquire the force of judgment, this sentence still needed the *Byt po cemou* or *So be it* of the sovereign. It was not only just in the opinion of everybody, but also moderate, saving the restriction we have made above: we have no hesitation in saying, in no country would the same crimes have been visited with less penalties. But if, in giving it his approbation, the monarch declared it to be, moreover, conformable to the text of existing laws, these terms must not be too strictly understood, since the additional regulation formed no part of the legislation in force. But then, again, in Russia, is not the sovereign the living law, and is not his will its constant and unexceptionable source?

Although acknowledging it to be just, Nicholas did not admit the judgment given without modifying it. "Anxiously desiring," says he, in a ukase addressed to the high court, and dated from Tsarsko-Sélo, July 12th, "to reconcile the text of the laws and the duties of strict justice with the sentiments of clemency by which we are actuated, we have resolved to commute the

chastisements and penalties pronounced against the guilty, by means of the following dispositions."

In copying here these dispositions, we will not crowd our pages with the long list of the culprits, for fear of fatiguing the patience of our reader, or of awakening a deep commiseration in those whose souls are sensitive to strong emotions. For, most of those unfortunate men had acted under the influence of extreme levity rather than with really criminal intentions. The emperor was convinced of this himself, and accordingly did not confine his clemency to the first alleviation he granted to the fate of most of the sufferers: we are happy to be able to state that scarcely had two months elapsed since the judgment, before he extended his clemency to them once more, on the occasion of his coronation. Other commutations were then pronounced, and if they were not more extensive, it is said that it is to be attributed to the scandalous scenes which took place whilst these unfortunate men were being transported,—scenes for the most part dictated probably by despair.* At the end of each class we will place a few proper names; but only when they have a special character, or give rise to particular observations.

1. To the state criminals, placed by the court in the first category, and condemned to the pain of death, the emperor granted their lives; he ordered that they should be sent to hard labour for life, after being degraded and deprived of their title of nobility.

To this class belonged Prince Troubetzkoï, to whom

* It was especially at Jaroslavl that scenes of this kind took place. We suppress the details for reasons which the reader will properly appreciate.

the emperor had already promised to grant his life; Prince Obolenski, for whom there was no additional severity of punishment, though the monarch had had reason to complain of him personally, even before he had been acquainted with the plot; Captain Iakoubovitch and Prince Chtchépine-Rostofski, both among the principal actors in the sanguinary affair on the 26th of December. After the last commutation, they remained condemned to twenty years of hard labour, together with exile for life in Siberia. This was the most severe penalty after that of the convicts placed apart from every category; a dreadful chastisement, however, to which the pain of death, reserved for the superior degree of guilt, must have appeared trifling. We shudder at the thought of what these men must have suffered, accustomed as they were, for the most part, to all the comforts of life, and to all the enjoyments of the most refined luxury; we need to recall to mind at once, that at the present day the term of hard labour has expired for them all; they remain in exile; but a less rigorous fate allows them to await with resignation that hour of deliverance which will strike for them as well as for all miserable creatures.

2. To six other criminals of the first category, condemned by the court to the pain of death, the emperor likewise granted their lives, and a still more favourable commutation of punishment. He ordered that, after being degraded and deprived of their titles of nobility, they should be sent to hard labour for twenty years, at the expiration of which term they should remain in exile in Siberia. These twenty years were afterwards reduced to fifteen. The reasons being added to every

name, excepting Prince Volkonski's, we think we ought to copy the enumeration: "The retired Lieutenant-Colonel Matthew Mouravieff Apostol, in consideration of his deep repentance; the College Assessor Küchelbecker, on account of the intercession of the Grand-Duke Michael, at whom he had aimed; second Captain Alexander Bestoujeff, in consideration of his having presented himself of his own accord before the emperor to confess his crime; Captain Nicétas Mouravieff, in consideration of the frankness of his confessions; Major-General Prince Sergius Volkonski; retired Captain Jakouschkin, likewise in consideration of his repentance."

3. Out of the individuals condemned by the court to lay their heads upon the block, and to hard labour for life, the emperor made three categories. With regard to two of them, he did not commute the punishment, but merely suppressed the mock political death, —a severity occasioned, doubtless, by the violation of discipline, and the pernicious example given to the troops by officers in the exercise of their duties. These persons were Nicholas Bestoujeff, lieutenant-captain in the navy, and second Captain Michael Bestoujeff. They shared the fate of the convicts of the first class. As to most of the others, the autocrat ordered them to be degraded, deprived of their titles of nobility, sent to hard labour for twenty years, and afterwards exiled into Siberia; this period was ultimately reduced to fifteen and to ten years.

4. Those of the third category, condemned by the court to hard labour for life (but without political death), were to be degraded, deprived of their titles of

nobility, sent to hard labour for twenty years, and afterwards exiled into Siberia; the twenty years were reduced to fifteen.

5. The culprits of the fourth category, sentenced to hard labour for fifteen years, and afterwards exiled into Siberia, were to be degraded, deprived of their titles of nobility, and sent to hard labour for twelve years, after which period they were to remain in exile. These men had altogether only eight years of hard labour.

6. In the fifth category, which consisted of persons condemned to hard labour for ten years, followed by exile in Siberia, the emperor made again certain distinctions, by maintaining with respect to some the penalty already pronounced, and reducing it for others, so that he seemed to fix a different order of culpability. Lieutenant Baron de Rosen, and another individual of this class, were the objects of great severity. According to the tenor of the decree, the emperor ordered them to be sent to hard labour for ten years, and afterwards exiled into Siberia; whereas a third, Bodisco, an ensign in the navy, remained condemned only to public works in a fortress (Bobrouisk) for a space of time ultimately reduced to five years.

7. Of the criminals in the sixth category, condemned by the high court to hard labour for six years, followed by exile in Siberia, one, Colonel Alexander Mouravieff, in consideration of the sincerity of his repentance, was to be simply transported, without the number of years being specified, into Siberia, without being either degraded or deprived of his nobility; the other, the nobleman Lublinski, was to be deprived of

nobility, sent to hard labour for five years, afterwards reduced to three, and then exiled into Siberia.

8. The individuals placed in the seventh category had been condemned to four years of hard labour, followed by exile in Siberia; the emperor reduced the penalty for some to two years (later to one) of hard labour, and for others to two years (later to one also) of hard labour in a fortress. With respect to the latter, exile was suppressed.

9. The penalty of hard labour did not extend so far as to the individuals in the 8th category: the court had simply condemned them to be degraded, deprived of nobility, and exiled into Siberia for an unlimited period. This decree was maintained, except for Bodisco, No. 1 (the brother of the man in the sixth class, who was also treated with favour): the latter was merely to be inscribed on the books, by way of punishment, as a common sailor. However, the unlimited period of exile pronounced against the others was soon after converted into an exile of twenty years.

10. Degradation, deprivation of nobility, and transportation into Siberia, such was the penalty pronounced against the three individuals composing the ninth category of the high court. They were relieved from transportation, and merely inscribed as common soldiers in distant garrisons, with the prospect of promotion, earned by "eminent services."

11. The latter sentence was pronounced upon a convict forming alone the tenth category of the court: it was maintained. Like the preceding, this culprit was transferred to the army of the Caucasus.

12. The same punishment was pronounced by the

high court for the eleventh category, but without deprivation of nobility. This part of the sentence was maintained, except for Lieutenant Tsébrikoff, with respect to whom imperial caprice, impossible to exist in this shape anywhere but in Russia, went so far as to augment the penalty which the tribunal had deemed sufficient.

The question here is doubtless not about a capital condemnation, or one of those overwhelming sentences which human justice pronounces only with a shudder, and under the influence of a feeling, whether true or false, of an absolute necessity; but the case was no less serious on that account, and it characterizes too distinctly the peculiar situation of things in Russia for it not to claim our attention for one moment. We have, moreover, mentioned it already as a deplorable derogation from that spirit of moderation and clemency with which this procedure is in its other parts visibly impressed.

Lieutenant Tsébrikoff, placed by the high court in the eleventh category, ought to have shared the fate of the convicts of the foregoing class; like them he was not to lose his nobility, and to have the faculty of recovering rank by his service. The autocrat refused him these two concessions. "Having become unworthy of the title of noble," proclaims he on his own authority, "from the serious consequences of the pernicious example he has given by standing amidst the crowd of rebels, in sight of his regiment, he shall be deprived of his nobility and inscribed as a private soldier for the rest of his life." Thus, not only was there no commutation for Tsébrikoff, as for most of his companions

in misfortune, but there was in his case a manifest increase of punishment. Had there been a mistake, then, in the sentence pronounced upon him by the court? For that sentence the monarch substitutes another. What then, we naturally inquire, becomes of all those guarantees, so solemnly promised at the opening of the trial? If the infirmity of our nature be such that our best resolutions do not hold good against a caprice, how much ought we not to distrust an unlimited power intrusted to the hands of a single man, even though he be, like Alexander, a fortunate phenomenon? How much ought we not to approve of nations when they raise their voices for the attainment of a constitutional law to protect them against the abuse of this power! What becomes of justice itself, when he from whom its decisions emanate, is at the same time judge and client? What shelter has the prisoner against his anger? And even in cases of simple error, where will be the remedy? What resource is there against the sovereign will? The question is here one of vital importance to every community: we believe it was slighted on this occasion; but as to the rest, we will be just: the imperial decision was not, at all events, an act dictated by anger or vengeance; for, by virtue of the manifesto of pardon, Tsébrikoff, like Bodisco, Konovnitsyn, and others, was soon transferred to the detached army of the Caucasus, with the ability to acquire promotion.

13. "Lastly," said the judgment, "as to the criminals of state whose names are not mentioned in the present ukase, and who, by the enormity of their crimes, have been left out of the categories and apart

from all comparison with the others, we abandon their fate to the decision of the high national court, for the definite decree, which it will pronounce upon them, to be executed."

We shall presently see who are these criminals set apart as superlatively guilty, and condemned by the high court to the pain of death and to be quartered; but even in this particular, one is struck with the arbitrariness of the decision adopted. The court had pronounced, and pronounced, moreover, less according to the text of the laws, than from special instructions drawn up, for this purpose, by order of the sovereign. Its part was completely ended: it was merely waiting for its judgment to be returned to it, furnished with the imperial signature, to have it executed. Now the emperor does not admit this judgment as definitive: by his own authority, he subjects it to amendments. The most indispensable of all the amendments to be introduced into it, consisted in sparing the culprits the torments of a barbarous punishment whilst they underwent their sentence of death, judged necessary by the court. But, like the holy synod, the emperor was loath to pronounce the capital penalty himself, even in a case of commutation; and, as the court required it, notwithstanding this aversion, he "devolved on it this responsibility." In consequence of this, the court was obliged to meet again and modify its decree, although, in its own opinion, it had been definitive.

Lastly, the ukase of which we have just given an analysis, concluded with the two following dispositions, of which we give the tenor:—

"The high court of justice, assembled with the full complement of its members, is charged to announce to the culprits the decree which it has given against them, as also the commutations which we have granted them: it will afterwards send the whole to those to whom it belongs to put the judgment into execution.

"The report of the high court, as also the present decisions by which it has been followed, will receive entire publicity through the medium of the directing senate."

This ukase is dated, as we have said, the 22nd of July. On the morrow, the court met once more to pronounce definitively upon the fate of the individuals who were not designated therein by name, and whom the emperor abandoned to its decision. The conclusion of its decree is as follows.

"The high court of justice, guided by that clemency of which his imperial majesty has given so splendid a testimony, by the commutation of the punishments and penalties pronounced against the other criminals, and using the discretionary power with which it is invested, decrees: that, instead of being quartered, to which Paul Pestel, Conrad Ryleïeff, Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol, Michael Bestoujeff Rumine, and Peter Kakhofski, were to be subjected, by virtue of the first decree of the court, these criminals are condemned to be hanged, as a punishment for their horrible crimes."

These five unfortunate convicts expected to have been shot; moreover, death by the gibbet was unusual in Russia. It was incontestably merited, and no particular cruelty attended it; but the prejudices of noblemen and officers caused them to consider it as a brand

of dishonour. Vengeance alone, they said unjustly, could have suggested the idea of thus adding humiliation to the agony of capital punishment.

If it be true, as some persons have stated, that a few of these men had shewn symptoms of weakness before the Commission of Inquiry, they nevertheless all now awaited their death with courage. It was necessary that the sentence should be read to them, and, for this purpose, they were brought out of their dungeons and escorted to the habitation of the commander of the fortress, whither the high court with a full complement of its members repaired also in procession. No incident interrupted the majestic solemnity of this painful scene.

One day was allowed for final meditation, for that examination of the conscience so natural to man when standing on the threshold of eternity. The convicts were not deprived of religious consolation at that awful moment; very few among them refused it, and almost all derived from it fresh strength and fortitude. Ryleïeff, especially, gladly accepted this divine comfort. This man, who was really the chief of the association of the North, acknowledged that, according to the existing laws, the sentence, by which he was condemned, was just; the ardour of his patriotism had deceived him, he said, but as patriotism had been the only motive of his actions, he awaited his death without fear. "It will be," he continued, "an expiation perhaps due to society" for which doubtless he had acted, but without its consent. A few hours more, and that expiation would be completed. He then seized a pen to write to his young wife for the last time. In an affect-

ing letter, he bade her adieu, entreated her earnestly not to give way to despair, and exhorted her as a Christian not to murmur either against the decrees of providence or against the justice of the emperor. He recommended her to leave St. Petersburg as soon as possible, and to return to her native province (she was from Novogorod) ; but first to receive the priest who had assisted him at the point of death, and who would impart to her his last words and requests. Ryleïeff reserved for this worthy confessor a token of his gratitude and affection : he charged his wife to give to that person one of his gold snuff-boxes. Hardly had he concluded this letter which was blotted with his tears, when he received notice to prepare for his departure.

On his part, Pestel, the dictator of the South, was ready to die ; his firmness was unalterable, and he is said to have remained to the last convinced of the wisdom and fitness of the principles set down by him in his *Russian law.*

For the last eighty years, St. Petersburg had not witnessed a capital punishment,* and even throughout all Russia, the scaffold had been erected but seldom, and only for extraordinary occasions, ever since the reign of Elizabeth.

On the 25th of July, workmen were employed, as early as two o'clock in the morning, to erect a gibbet, large enough to contain five bodies in a row, on the

* We know of no other than that of Arthemius Petrovitch Volynski, on the 27th of June, 1740, who had besides his tongue torn out and his right hand cut off. This barbarous punishment, to which the Empress Anne subjected one of her ministers, who was probably innocent, filled her with terrible remorse on her death-bed. She imagined she saw the mutilated body of the unhappy sufferer always standing before her.

rampart of the fortress opposite the small decayed wooden church dedicated to the Trinity, situated on the banks of the Neva, at the entrance of the quarter of the town called old St. Petersburg. In this season, night, in that northern latitude, is, as the reader knows, only twilight prolonged till the dawn of morning, which is much less backward than in our regions. Every object therefore was, even at that early hour, perfectly distinguishable. A faint rolling of drums and the distant notes of a few trumpets were heard in several distinct parts of the town, for each regiment of the garrison was to send a single company to witness the dismal scene that was to take place at sun-rise. The hour of execution had been intentionally left in uncertainty. Accordingly, the city was still buried in sleep: a few spectators had arrived one after the other, but, even at the end of an hour, their number was hardly sufficient to line the military *cordon* which was placed between them and the actors in this terrible drama. Deep silence prevailed everywhere; and when the rolling of the drums of all the assembled detachments was at length heard, the rumbling sound died away without interrupting the tranquillity of the night or awakening a single echo.

About three o'clock, the same drums announced the arrival of those among the culprits whose lives had been granted. After being stationed in groups in front of the rather extensive circle which covered the *glacis*, before the rampart on which the gibbet was erected, and placed each in face of the corps to which he belonged, they were obliged to kneel down, after hearing the reading of their sentence.

Their epaulets, badges, and uniforms were then taken from them, and a sword was broken above the head of each as a token of degradation; after which, being dressed in common grey capotes, they filed off before the gibbet, whilst a brasier, kindled close by, consumed their uniforms, the ensigns of their rank, and their badges of honour.

Scarcely had they re-entered the fortress, by the usual door of communication, near which the instrument of death had been erected, when the five condemned criminals made their appearance upon the rampart. At the distance at which the public were placed,* it would have been difficult to distinguish their features; besides which, they were muffled in grey capotes, the hoods of which concealed their faces. They ascended the platform and the benches, placed in front under the gibbet, one by one, in the order allotted to them by their sentence: Pestel first, occupying the right side, and Kakhofski the left.† The fatal noose was then passed round their necks, and no sooner had the executioner stood aside than the platform fell from under their feet. Pestel and Kakhofski were strangled immediately, but death refused, as it were, to reach the three others placed between them. The spectators then beheld a horrible scene: the rope, being badly adjusted, slid over the hoods of those unfortunate men, who fell altogether into

* The author himself was among the spectators; he is, therefore, furnishing the reader with a description taken by an eye-witness on the spot: accordingly, he can answer for every detail being exact.

† To the spectator, it was the reverse: he had Pestel on the left, and Kakhofski on the right.

the hole under the scaffold, pell-mell with the trap-door and the benches. Horrible contusions must have been the consequence; but as this lamentable accident caused no alteration in their fate, for the emperor was absent at Tsarsko-Sélo, and nobody ventured to grant a respite,* they had to suffer the agony of death a second time. As soon as the platform was replaced, they were again brought under the gibbet. Although stunned at first by his fall, Ryleïeff walked with a firm step, but could not help uttering this painful exclamation: "Must it be said that nothing succeeds with me, not even death!" According to some witnesses, he also exclaimed: "Accursed country, where they know neither how to plot, to judge, nor to hang!"† but others attribute these words to Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol, who, like Ryleïeff, courageously reascended the scaffold. Bestoujeff Rumine, doubtless more injured than the others, had not strength enough to support himself. It was necessary to carry him under the gibbet. A second time the fatal noose was placed round their necks, and this time without slipping. After a few seconds, a roll of the drums announced that human justice had been satisfied. All was over before five o'clock. The troops and the other spectators of this terrible sacrifice silently dispersed. One hour later all the apparatus of death had disappeared: the crowd that continued to assemble all day long on the

* Consequently, the statement is not true that the emperor, on being consulted as to what was to be done, replied with barbarous brevity:—"Hang them again!"

† These two expressions were both more worthy of Ryleïeff, than the poor witticism repeated in the book of a French traveller:—"I did not expect to be hanged twice."

glacis, found no longer any vestige of it; the people made no display of any kind, but remained perfectly quiet. On occasions of this kind, nobody ventures, even among friends, to give utterance to his feelings without extreme precaution, and in whispers.

Thus perished, in the prime of life, men who, for the most part, might have done eminent service to their country. They had ill appreciated its situation, and had not properly acquainted themselves with its real wants. To transform Russia into a republic, even of a federal form, was a dream impossible to be realized; and to rely on the people or the army for such an enterprise, was an evidence of gross ignorance of the state of manners in that country. Besides, not to mention that private interest, ambition, and ungovernable passion are too often concealed under the cloak of patriotism, there is one point on which too much stress cannot be laid, which is, that to serve our country worthily, to have a right to support its holy cause, our hands must be pure: murder and regicide are not means for its service; on the contrary, a nation reproves them, and, for the most part, such as have used them, have been disavowed even by the leaders at whose instigation they had acted. In a country where prejudices still pervade every class, where the most reasonable attempts at reform—for instance, the enfranchisement of the serfs and the moralization of public functionaries—meet with such powerful obstacles independent of the sovereign will, secret societies, supposing the government had tolerated them, might perhaps have been a benefit, as they have been in other countries; but it would have been

necessary both to allow them space to act, and to put faith in the power of public opinion and in the irresistible influence of time. Besides, ought there to have been recourse to force before all other means had been tried and pursued with perseverance? Happy would it have been for Ryleïeff had he remembered those ideas which he had lately expressed in his remarkable poem of *Voïnarofski*, in which appears a sort of second-sight revealing to him less his own fate than that of his friend Alexander Bestoujeff, who was doomed to a cruel exile, like the friend of Mazeppa, but fortunately for a less considerable space of time, in the distant city of Jakoutsk. Ryleïeff, investing that Hetman of the Cossacks with the feelings of his own heart, makes him utter the following words:—

"What our dreams shewed us as a decree of heaven, was not yet resolved on high. Be patient! Let us wait a little longer, till the colossus has filled up the measure of our wrongs; till, by hastening to grow strong, he has weakened himself, endeavouring to embrace the half of the universe. Let us allow that proud heart to display its vanity in the sun. Patience! the wrath of heaven will yet crush him to dust. In history, God is *remuneration:* he will take care that the seed of sin shall bear its fruit."*

However, as we have said, the conspirators who expiated their crimes by receiving death on the scaffold, were not those who were the most to be pitied. Was not the most dreadful exile reserved for all the others? Stowed four together in *télèghes* or two-wheeled carts,

* See, for what concerns Ryleïeff, Note (21), in Notes and Explanations.

without any other seat than bundles of straw, fifty-two of them were immediately sent on their long and painful journey,* and, in the most humble conveyance, passed through Novogorod, Tver, Moscow, Vladimir, Nyni-Novogorod, Kasan, Jekatérinenburg, and Tobolsk,† often hooted by the people, against whose indignation the Cossacks, who escorted them, were even obliged sometimes to defend them. It was on the 5th of August that Troubetzkoï's family and that of Sergius Volkonski took a painful leave of these unfortunate men at the first stage beyond St. Petersburg, where the emperor had permitted the interview to take place. Troubetzkoï was ill; but he departed at least with the consolatory certainty of being soon rejoined by his heroic wife, who was resolved not to forsake him in his misfortune, to share the ignominy and privations of his exile, and to undergo all the consequences of her resolution, whatever they might be. Madame Alexander Mouravieff, Madame Nicétas Mouravieff (whose maiden name was Tchernycheff), Madame Naryschkin (whose maiden name was Konovnitsyn),‡ likewise understood their duty as faithful companions; and it is well known that Prince Sergius Volkonski's charming wife (whose maiden name was Raïefski) deceived her parents, whom she adored, to perform it likewise. So joyfully did these noble women sacrifice themselves, that a foreigner, a travelling companion of one of them, heard this strange threat

* In January, 1827, there still remained in the fortress of St. Petersburg more than thirty of those who had been condemned to hard labour.

† This last town is more than 750 leagues from St. Petersburg.

‡ Probably the sister of the person of whom we have before spoken. Their father, General Konovnitsyn, had been highly esteemed. In 1812, he was head of the staff of the army of Koutosoff.

uttered by a mother in speaking to her somewhat petulant daughter: "Sophia, if you do not behave well, you shall not go to Siberia!"*

It is the duty of history to preserve the names of these voluntary exiles, for examples of self-abnegation becoming less and less common every day, exalt noble sentiments in the souls of youth, and guard them from the cold shafts of selfishness, that almost universal disease of our age. In order to become inured to adversity, these ladies began, a few weeks before their departure, to accustom their delicate soft hands to the task of the most humble menials in their opulent establishments; laying aside their silks and velvet, they wore dresses of the most common materials, habituated their palate to the food of the people, and, in one word, renounced completely the comforts and luxury to which they had been accustomed ever since their childhood. "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," was

* This travelling companion was M. Vaucher, of Geneva, who had been tutor in the Laval family, and was affectionately attached to all its members. He offered to accompany the Princess Troubetzkoï on her journey, and obtained the permission of the government. It is said that he went as far as Nertchinsk. On his return, the government did not lose sight of him. It made him depart from Moscow for St. Petersburg, where General Diebitsch himself wanted to question him. Others say that he was not allowed to enter the city: when he had arrived within three versts of the town, he was obliged to stop, and soon after he reached the frontier, doubtless glad to find it between him and the distrustful police of that country. But even in Paris, he was not allowed to remain quiet: the police of Charles X. kept watch over him; and he was recommended to be careful of what he said. He departed for Marseilles, but a description of his person, sent by telegraph, arrived there before him; and, on alighting from the diligence, he received orders to repair to the residence of the *préfet*. M. Vaucher felt himself obliged to hasten his departure once more even from this kingdom; and yet France was considered even then a free country.

henceforth to be the lot of these virtuous women: they knew it, but their resolution never relaxed. They were informed that when once they had passed Irkoutsk they would be no longer in free possession of their baggage; that they would have nobody to wait upon them; that, at the utmost, they would be allowed to engage one or two old convicts, male or female, who would consent to serve them for wages; that they could not return to Europe without the emperor's permission; and that shame and degradation would ever prevent their children from quitting the land of exile. They knew all this, and yet they remained perfectly resigned.*

Let us, however, hasten to add that we must not exaggerate the dreadful condition of the convicts. After all, they were guilty men punished by the law of their country which they had trodden under foot. Their misfortune was certainly great; but, far from aggravating it in any particular, the government did, on the contrary, all that was possible to alleviate it. After being transported beyond the lake Baïkal, they were collected together in the village of Tchita, on the Ingoda and on the road between Verkhnü-Oudinsk and Nertchinsk. In that place there are no mines; the climate is rather less rigorous than in other countries of Siberia;† and the solitude of this immense region, abandoned, so to speak, by heaven and man, is rather less absolute in the district of the lake and for a

* We have already spoken of the noble devotedness which was shewn to the convicts Ivacheff and Bassarghin by two French women, who likewise followed them into Siberia.

† The temperature seems inclined to rise in Siberia. Since 1830, the maximum of cold has not exceeded 28° Réaumur. The maximum of

certain space about Irkoutsk, especially towards the confines of China. Moreover, it must have appeared less burdensome for such an assemblage of companions in misfortune, nearly all having the resources of education and intellect. Every one found means to obtain some slight concession from the kindness of the local authorities, who connived at more than one contravention; and books and necessary objects, which they all enjoyed in common, were gradually smuggled into their community. Tchita became a kind of little oasis of civilization in the middle of an immense desert: this village had its library composed of books all marked with a special stamp. The "hard labour" to which these exceptional convicts were subjected, was rather nominal than real; but, that the law might not be infringed, nor any reason given to convicts of an inferior condition to reproach justice with having two weights and measures, a mill, a pretended work-shop, for grinding corn a second time, had been erected, where these political convicts were obliged to spend a few hours of the day.

As to their families, they incurred no kind of responsibility. On the contrary, the emperor, desirous of saving them from the influence of prejudices and of performing an act of that enlightened justice which considers that the consequences of a crime ought to reach only those who have committed it, shewed an example of benevolence towards them. He caused assistance and consolation to be given to several among

heat in summer has declined; however, in 1843, it rose once more to 31° 6′ R. in the shade. The fertility of these countries is increasing in proportion.

them: besides a sum of 50,000 roubles which he gave to Pestel's father, to assist him in the wretched state in which his affairs then were, he made him a present of several years of unpaid rent of an estate belonging to the crown, situated in the government of Pskoff, and of which Alexander had granted him the enjoyment for twelve years; nay more, he caused Pestel's brother, a colonel in the chevalier-guards, to be about his own person, by appointing him his aide-de-camp. We can well appreciate the magnanimity of this act: it seemed to say, "although one brother was a conspirator, that is no reason to distrust the other; there is no villain so abandoned but he may have a virtuous brother." To extend the crime of one individual to a whole family, would be going back to the middle ages, and dispensing justice in the manner of barbarians. Nicholas shewed himself deeply affected by the grief of those inconsolable families, and sent especially several different times to Ryleïeff's widow to inquire about her welfare and to offer her assistance. The terrible blow the poor woman had suffered had deranged her mind; it was only occasionally that it was possible to speak with her during her lucid intervals. The monarch caused an inquiry to be made about all her necessities; he promised her that he would take charge of the future welfare of her children, still quite young, and, in the meantime, he ordered a sum to be forwarded to her sufficient to save her from want. But the noble widow, absorbed by her grief, refused these liberal proposals: "the only favour I ask of the emperor," she said, "is to have me shot like my husband" (for she still believed that to have been the

form of his punishment). Nicholas respected her despair, the affecting result of conjugal fidelity, and even the imputation of injustice which it seemed to convey; he did not, on that account, withdraw his protection from the unfortunate young woman, hoping she would remember her children as soon as her poignant grief for the loss of her husband had somewhat subsided.

So this gigantic trial was at length ended, and without any new commotion, after keeping all minds in suspense and rendering them unable to divest themselves of alarm; "a process," says the learned and impartial Lesur,* "wherein one may regret the absence of those judicial forms which are observed in countries subject to a constitutional form of government, the want of counsel, the secrecy of the audiences, debates, and proceedings; but wherein we must nevertheless acknowledge the decent and regular progress of the proceedings, the judicial precautions, the scrupulous exactness of the inquiry, the clearness of the proofs obtained, and the eminent precision of the judgments pronounced. . . . This deserves to be remarked as a homage paid by a despotic but enlightened government, to the rights of humanity, in a country still devoid of the light of civilization."

All Europe had been attentive to these proceedings; accordingly, the Russian government considered itself bound to lay aside its systematic silence, and to take a part in the discussions of the periodical press, in order to furnish a few explanations and to answer malevolent commentaries. The remarkable article published by

* "Annuaire pour 1826," p. 345.

the Paris newspaper, "La Quotidienne," in its number of the 18th of August, and copied by the Russian journals, was supposed to have been composed by General Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador at Paris.*

But even at that moment all was not yet finished. The Polish trial, of which we have given an analysis beforehand, and which, on account of the protecting forms with which that country, more advanced in civilization, surrounds those whom justice pursues, was then only in preparation, and remained more than a year longer without ending in a decision.† Even in Russia, partial prosecutions were continuing, and new arrests taking place. First, Gorski, the councillor of state, who had been left out of the eleven categories, was taken before a special commission. Next, a prior supplementary judgment was given in the month of August, by the department of the *auditoriat*, and promulgated by the senate of Moscow, against divers accomplices of Sergius Mouravieff-Apostol, such as Baron Solovieff, captain of the staff, and his accomplices, to the number of about fifteen, among whom figure, besides a second Captain Maïefski, a Prince Meschtcherski, and a Prince Korybouth-Voronejski. We have said that several sentences of death, hard labour, exile in Siberia, &c., were still pronounced. No execution took place; but the culprits were placed under the gibbet, and afterwards degraded. In relation to the rebels killed in the skirmish near Oustinofka, the sentence enacted that, in-

* "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," 1826, No. 109. We shall give the principal passage,—a kind of official apology for Russian justice—in Note (22) of the Appendix.

† See the "Report" in the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," 1837, No 73.

stead of crosses or other Christian emblems, gibbets, with names, should be engraved on their tombs. Another supplementary judgment, which we have already mentioned, was given in July, 1827, at which period the fifth department of the senate had still to decide upon the fate of a certain number of the accused. But as the charges were not very serious, the penalties were generally mild. Compared with the great process of the hundred and twenty-one, these partial affairs passed unnoticed; they did not interrupt the apathy into which the nation had again subsided, after having passed, almost without any transition, from the most terrible emotions to the joy of the most noisy festivals.

Therefore, as early as the 25th of July, 1826, the emperor, being firmly seated on his throne, was able to proclaim that public vengeance had been accomplished. The feeling of being at length relieved from an immense burden revealed itself on that day in a manifesto rather lengthy, but in many respects remarkable. M. Bloudoff was said to be the author of this document.

"The criminals," says the manifesto in substance,* "have received the punishment they had deserved, and thus has ended a process in which the emperor has never ceased to behold the cause of all Russia. A handful of wretches, aided by auxiliaries, few in number, but persevering in their endeavours, formed a conspiracy. The country was suffering from a wound, which was dangerous because it was concealed, but which has not reached the heart of the nation. It was a foreign contagion, from which a loyal population has known how to keep free." "The Russian name,"

* See "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," 1826, No 80.

said the monarch, "could never be branded by treason towards the throne and the state. So far is this from being the case, that in these same conjunctures we have received affecting proofs of boundless devotion. We have seen fathers assume an inflexible severity towards their criminal children; we have beheld the nearest relations deny and deliver to justice the miserable men suspected of complicity; lastly, we have seen all classes of our subjects—actuated by one and the same thought, the self-same wish—demand only judgment and chastisement for the guilty."

This conspiracy was suited neither to the character nor to the manners of the Russian nation. In a country "where love for the sovereign and devotion to the throne are for the people a want and an hereditary sentiment; *where the vigour of the administration is allied to the nationality of the laws,*" such an attempt is necessarily sterile and branded with universal reprobation. It is not by the help of crime that good can be brought about: "it is from above, and by degrees, that real improvements are effected, omissions filled up, and abuses reformed. The emperor never thought of opposing any reasonable desire for a gradual improvement: when communicated in *the legal way open to all,* they will be welcomed by him with gratitude; for he forms no other wish than that of seeing his country attain the highest degree of prosperity and glory that has been designed for it by divine providence." "These sad events," continues he, "ought to be a lesson to everybody. May fathers now bestow all their attention on the moral education of their children! It is certainly not to the progress of civilization, but to

vanity, which produces only idleness and a vacuum in the mind, and to a want of real instruction, that we must attribute that licentiousness of the intellect, that impetuosity of the passions, that very confused and fatal smattering of knowledge, that inclination for extreme theories and political visions, which begin by demoralizing and end by destroying. In vain will the government generously exert itself, and make every sacrifice, if domestic education do not back its endeavours and its views;—*if it do not infuse into every heart the principles of morality.*"

In this, as in everything else, the nobility, "that bulwark of the throne and of national honour," ought to serve as a model; every career is open before it: justice, arms, the different branches of national administration, all require zealous and capable agents, and everything depends on the choice it makes. All the efforts it will employ for improving "indigenous education devoted to Russia, and given to her children," will be an object of satisfaction and gratitude to the sovereign. Moreover, these well-founded and most prudent observations are not addressed by the czar to the nobility alone: he is the father of all his subjects, and claims the confidence of every class of citizens.

Lastly, he declares that one final obligation is imposed upon him. "In the place," says he, "where, seven months ago, the outbreak of a sudden revolt revealed to us unexpectedly the dreadful secret of an evil that had already existed for ten years, it is necessary that one final act of commemoration—an expiatory sacrifice—should consecrate the memory of the Russian blood shed in that same place for religion, the sove-

reign, and the native land; it is necessary that solemn prayers be offered up to the Lord. We perceived His almighty hand when it tore away the veil that concealed this horrible mystery; and we perceived it when, in permitting crime to arm itself, it secured its destruction. Like a momentary storm, the revolt seems to have burst forth only to annihilate the conspiracy which had given it birth."

Conformably to this imperial will, the whole garrison of St. Petersburg was drawn up at seven in the morning of the 26th, on the Isaac plain, forming a vast square about an altar raised upon a lofty platform, at the very spot where the impious fight on the 26th of December had taken place. On a sudden, the people who had collected in crowds, saw the emperor come forth from the church of the admiralty, which is the most central monument of St. Petersburg, in the very middle of the town. The monarch was led forth by the old Archbishop, arrayed in his pontifical robes. They advanced together towards the altar, and, at the same moment, there appeared a carriage of state containing the empress and her brother, Prince Charles of Prussia. A solemn service immediately began. God had stretched forth his hand over the country and preserved it from destruction: thanksgivings were offered up, and prayers said for the repose of the souls of the men who had perished in defending the throne and public tranquillity; and the present reign which had begun under such serious auspices, and been from its earliest days subjected to such formidable trials, was recommended to the divine protection. Then descending the steps of the altar, the priests advanced towards

the troops and the people ; they sprinkled over them the lustral water as an emblem of purification, and watered the ground with it as with a beneficent shower.

At eight o'clock in the morning the thunder of a hundred and one cannons proclaimed the end of the ceremony. The expiation was complete, and every vestige of the crime had disappeared.

CHAPTER VII.

MOSCOW AND THE CORONATION.

THE real capital of Russia is Moscow.

In giving this opinion, we are far from disputing the importance of St. Petersburg in past times,—an importance which this magnificent residence, according to many, still preserves at the present day. On this latter point we are of a different opinion; according to our way of thinking, the present capital has had its day; but, in what relates to the past, it would be to deny all the evidence of history not to allow that the foundation of the city by Peter the Great had an immense share in regenerating the empire and working out those new destinies which the reforming czar had planned for his country.

At Moscow he felt ill at ease, thwarted in his plans and shackled in his movements. He was there in presence of a church very much attached to ancient traditions, secretly hostile to the ideas of reform imported from abroad, servile doubtless towards the throne, but yet powerful, and possessing too fully the affection of the people not to make it necessary to come to terms with it. Moreover, he was there restrained by a numerous and compact court, composed of all the eminent persons in the country, and of the

most wealthy territorial proprietors; though unenlightened in other respects, believing nothing to be superior to Russia, to her manners, her strength, and her riches; jealous of their sovereign's favour, and ill disposed to share it with foreign adventurers. Lastly, he had in that city to keep fair even with the people, trained to the yoke, it is true, but obstinately attached to their habits, detesting civilization as a foreign product, judging of everything in a religious point of view, and beholding a heresy in the least innovation; moreover, envenomed by the arrogance of those foreign guests who were arriving from all quarters, and full of sympathy for their natural guides in the two upper classes, faithful like them to the national feeling, and, like them, discontented.

Thus surrounded, perhaps Peter I. would have been disabled from executing his projects; being always before the face of malevolent or morose spectators, perhaps his courage would have given way, and weariness overpowered his energy. On the other hand, the foreign auxiliaries of whom the czar made use, would not have had free scope for their powers; amidst the numerous population of a secular capital, their small colony would have felt too weak, being overawed by an opposition that was able to reduce them to insignificance. Mutual jealousy would have given rise to annoying conflicts every day, and disgust would ultimately have dispersed these useful auxiliaries, deterred by idle contention from the end which, with their assistance, the czar had hoped to obtain.

To this we must add that under Peter the Great, Russia was no longer a purely Muscovite empire: after

the conquests made along the Baltic, the southern frontiers of Livonia, and even in Finland, it was necessary that the common metropolis and the court should find room for this newly conquered German nobility, who, being much more advanced in civilization than the Russian, would not have endured their haughtiness and ought not to be sacrificed to their exclusive spirit. It was necessary that these new Russian subjects should have churches for their own form of worship, and the clergy of Moscow would not have seen any built in the "holy city," in the shadow of the principal sanctuaries of the "orthodox people," without raising an outcry of profanation, and groaning over the affliction of the church, besieged by "the schisms of Latins," or defiled by a contact with "the sacrilegious faith of the Lutherans."

Being resolved to let every one enjoy his rights, and to attract about his person all the powers of civilization, Peter wanted a neutral ground, where different elements might meet without contention, and learn to know and bear with one another, and whence the example of this tolerance might exercise its influence over every portion of the empire.

This is not all. He was determined that this empire should become a European state, cost what it would: it was therefore necessary to form a communication not only by means of a port, which might serve as a medium, but with the seat of his power, whence he would have only to extend his arm to take a share in the business of the world, and to cast the weight of a great nation into the scale of general interests. Foreigners were little disposed to seek the

road to Moscow through the immense wildernesses which separate the capital of the czars from the sea; it was expedient that they should find Russia as soon as they entered the mouth of the Neva. There, they would form a favourable opinion of her, in a city created in the likeness of the great cities of Europe; there, he would find, instead of Muscovite barbarity, the reflection of his own manners, and of that civilization to which he was accustomed; there, he would become familiar with the use of an unknown language; with people who spoke his own; and thus every barrier would be removed between the great family of the Christian nations and the last comer among its members.

As the connecting link of a vast chain, St. Petersburg has admirably performed its intended mission. The junction has long been perfect; nothing can dissolve it; and there is no longer any necessity for the government to lean all its power on that side where Russia has not her real centre of gravity.

M. de Custine is right: "Either Russia will not accomplish what appears to us her destiny, or Moscow will become again one day the capital of the empire; for that city alone possesses the principle of Russian independence and originality. The root of the tree is there, and there it is that it must bear its fruits; never does a graft acquire the vigour of the seed."*

The translation of the seat of the empire to St. Petersburg was a necessary but only transitory measure, the object of which is now obtained. At the present day, in the point of view of European policy,

* "La Russie en 1839," t. iii. 273.

it is doubtless no longer that corner of Ingria that would be chosen, but rather Warsaw, a city nearer the heart of Europe, closer to Germany and the two great courts of Vienna and Berlin. Once stationed at Warsaw, the Russian government would cast all the weight of its power upon the West; it would be omnipotent, and the independence of most of the states would be seriously compromised. But, in the position in which things are at present, for Warsaw to become the imperial residence many changes must first take place: it would be necessary, before everything else, for the fusion of Poland with Russia to be accomplished, and for the former to sacrifice to the latter its particular nationality, for the benefit of that empire of the Sclavons, of which we have spoken: it would be necessary for the jealousy and national animosities between the two rivals to have completely subsided—in other words, it would require a miracle,—one of those unexpected caprices of fortune which deceive all our calculations, and give a new aspect to the affairs of the world.

The Russians have sometimes dreamed of another capital, and perhaps, in certain social regions, this illusion is still fondly entertained. From the extreme north, their imagination has wandered to the extremity of the south, where, instead of the sombre landscape of pining nature and a freezing climate, it beheld the brilliant spectacle of a magnificent site, enlivened by a sun of unsullied splendour, whose genial warmth dilates the heart, which, on the contrary, shrinks under the northern sky. This capital is Constantinople, the key of the East, and destined to become, some time or

other, one of the richest marts of the commerce of the world. Like St. Petersburg, it is in communication with Europe by the seas, and with the interior of Russia by great rivers. The mouths of these rivers are turned in the direction of the Ottoman capital, which commands the outlet of the Black Sea, as also the entrance of that Mediterranean where the greatest interests of civilization are now concentrated, and where the quarrels between the first powers of Christendom will henceforth be settled. But Constantinople, on becoming the capital of the Muscovite empire, would not only occasion a new phasis in the affairs of the world, but become also the cause of a complete overthrow in the interior condition of that empire. According to all probability, the North would detach itself from the South; new states would be formed; and the future prospects of the Sclavonic race would assume a very different aspect.

As to the rest, let us leave these questions in their present obscurity, and not give to chimeras an importance which they cannot claim.

The true capital of Russia, we repeat, is Moscow: in a national point of view, no other is seen; and this very view is doubtless the one which the czars will ultimately take.

Undoubtedly, Moscow is not the most ancient of the Russian cities. Its first foundation does not date earlier than the year 1147; and it was not till the thirteenth century, that it became the residence of princes sprung from the family of Rurik. Daniel Alexandrovitch was the first who was buried there (1304): he had already assumed the title of grand-prince of Mos-

cow (1295); but the seat of the grand-principality was not durably established in this town before Joann Danilovitch, surnamed Kalita, or the Purse (1328-1340).* Formerly, Vladimir had enjoyed this honour. Novogorod and Kief are of far more ancient origin; for the former of these towns was the cradle of the empire, and the latter—the residence of St. Vladimir, *the equal of the apostles*—was the first to receive the deposit of the faith already professed by St. Olga. As early as 1035, we find at Kief an archbishop the head of the Russian church, under the authority of the patriarch of Byzantium. The town contains the oldest sanctuaries of the nation: at the present day there are only a few ruins to be seen of the church of the Nativity of the Virgin, surnamed "of the Tithes," the most ancient of all, but the monastery of the Vaults (*Petcherskaïa lavra*), still in existence, is not of much more recent date.† Novogorod the Greater, having escaped the Mongol invasion, had, for two centuries, a destiny very different from that of the rest of Russia: being devoted to commerce, and endowed with municipal institutions, it governed itself as a republic, though for the most part placing its increasing prosperity under the auspices of a prince of the house of Rurik. The latter was the only tie that united that powerful city to the inheritance of the successors of

* The metropolitan see was transferred thither in 1326, by Archbishop Peter, who quitted Vladimir on the Kliasma, whither this see had been transferred from Kief about 1285. Peter is revered by the Russian Church as one of her greatest saints; his shrine, in the Ouspenski cathedral at Moscow, is the object of frequent and fervent homage.

† It was founded about 1055.

Monomachus* and Alexander Nevski, till the day when the force of arms incorporated it again and for ever. The two ancient metropolitan towns had, in this respect, almost the same fate; for, having been rescued from the hordes of Tartars by the warlike valour of the Lithuanians, and soon after transmitted by them to Poland, Kief found itself equally isolated from the mass of the orthodox population, carried into a different policy, converted to other principles, and even forced to abjure schism to enter into communion with the Latin Church, when archbishop Isidorus signed the canons of the council of Florence, and accepted the Roman purple in 1438. The union, indeed, lasted only for a time, and was by no means general; but since that period, the ancient residence of St. Vladimir remained only the capital of Russia-Minor, separated from the Major, where other manners prevailed, where the language even was slightly different, and where a population more accustomed to obedience, more faithfully attached to the old traditions, more robust in body, but less advantageously endowed with intellectual blessings, and less advanced in civilization, gathered around the throne of Rurik, doubtless then abased, but destined to revive with fresh splendour.

The Russia-Major of which we are speaking was Muscovy, so called from Moscow, its capital. From the fourteenth century all the most remarkable events in the national history are connected with this town, then become, as we have said, the residence of the grand-prince and the archbishop, the father of the

* Vladimir II., called Monomachus, the twelfth grand-duke, died in 1129.—Transl.

faithful. It became the centre of the contest which soon took place with the Mongols. It was there that Dimitri Joannovitch displayed his black banner when he went to prepare, in the fields of Koulikoff (1380), the deliverance of his native land, and to earn the glorious surname of Conqueror of the Don (*Donskoï*). Olghero, the warlike Grand-Prince of the Lithuanians, was stopped under the walls of the Kremlin;* the Khan Toktamysch, with better fortune, entered it, and laid everything waste with fire and sword. But the blood of the martyrs was like a baptism for the new capital; thus sanctified, it appeared venerable in the eyes of all; religion multiplied there the number of its miracles, and the glory of the *thaumaturgic saints* of Moscow made every heart beat from one extremity of the country to the other. The picture of the Virgin of Vladimir,† painted by Saint Luke, is said to have preserved the city from the fury of Timour; but Jédigheï, his brother in arms, occasioned once more a dreadful devastation, from which the unfortunate city had much ado to recover. Nevertheless, the faith of the people never wavered for an instant. After so many fires and devastations, preceded moreover by the plague and divers afflictions, every one rebuilt his dwelling, and laid, also, his offering on the altar to repair the havoc committed in the temples, to embellish those asylums and increase their number. This

* We have given the etymology of this word (vol. i. p. 9). However, we may here add that in every Turkish dialect, *krym*, *kurum*, *kerman*, signify a fortress; in Mongol, *kerem* means a wall or an enclosure. Kara-Korum, or the black fortress, was the residence of Tchinghiz Khan.

† We shall speak of her more fully in the course of this chapter.

number was soon expressed by the formula of "*forty times forty*" (*sorok sorokof*), which must doubtless not be taken in a literal meaning.* Moscow enriched herself with the spoils of Novogorod the Great and with those of Kasan, the capital of the principal remnant of the Tribe of Gold, henceforth tributary to the Russians; and from that moment the chroniclers speak of its opulence with no less admiration than their predecessors had shewn for Kief, according to them a second Byzantium. Under Joann III., the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin,† in which the miraculous picture of the Virgin of Vladimir was deposited, received its present form; almost by its side another was constructed, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, surmounted with a lofty tower, that very Ivan Véliki ‡ whose brilliant golden cross is saluted, for several leagues around, by the pious son of the church, who uncovers and crosses himself before he begins his daily labour in the fields.

But the *mother of the Russian cities* was destined to undergo new trials, and became only the more dear to the inhabitants. In 1547, a fire, communicating from street to street by the wood pavement, once more almost totally consumed it; the stone houses, then few in number, alone remained; and the flames especially respected the picture of the queen of the angels, over which, say the chroniclers, they had no power.

* As it has been by Storch, who speaks of 1600 steeples. "Russland unter Alexander I.," t. i. p. 91.

† In Russian, *Ouspenski Sabor:* literally, *ouspénie* is not *assumptio*, but *dormitio.*

‡ Literally, the *Great John.* It is known that Napoleon had the cross taken down, which was supposed to be of solid gold. This was a mistake, and the French did not carry off their trophy.

Thirty years later the Crimean Tartars, who alone remained formidable of all the scattered tribes of the Tribe of Gold, came and burnt Moscow once more; next, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Kremlin was the theatre of a terrible and prolonged contest between the true sons of the country and the foreign invasion—between the orthodox church and the Latin schism. Moscow was transformed into a real field of battle. The humiliation of their religion, a heart-breaking spectacle for a pious people, nerved the strength of all, and again engendered miracles. It was religion, also, that gave the signal of resistance: the patriarch Hermogenes called the people to arms, and the laura* of Saint Sergius was covered with culverins and other cannons. All the efforts of the Poles were powerless against its walls; and girded with the sword of Gideon the Russians ran to assist in delivering the Kremlin, where, shortly afterwards, the representatives of the nation, raising the house of Romanoff to the throne, hailed with unbounded enthusiasm the accession of a new race of orthodox czars and the triumph of the national cause.

Such is the tale which the name of Moscow suggests to every Russian; such is the history inscribed upon the walls of the Kremlin, the emblem of the eternal duration of the empire. What a magic charm for a capital, and what a title of glory in the eyes of a people! Is there any tradition of this kind connected with the handsome foreign city so coquettishly seated

* We have already used several times this word, borrowed from the Greek λαύρα, which means a street or a quarter. None but the greatest monasteries received this appellation.

on the banks of the Neva? No; religion has owed no new splendour to St. Petersburg; never did the whole country take refuge under the ramparts of her citadel: and, even in our own time, when, after an age of security, which had never been interrupted since Charles XII., a foreign invasion once more brought the torch of war among the Russian cities, was it St. Petersburg that stopped it? Was the city founded by Peter the expiatory victim? Was it thence that arose from the ashes of an immense brazier a phœnix, the symbol of imperishable existence? By no means; it was Moscow that received the palm of martyrdom and the laurels of victory.

Undoubtedly, Moscow has always preserved the title of first capital;* but a title is not a reality, and it is to be a real capital that Moscow aspires. Her rights in this respect are incontestable and above all rivalry; they belong to her from the nature of things as well as from history,

This requires a few explanations.

Moscow is in the centre of the empire, in the midst of the principal element of its population, the basis of its nationality. The Moskva, a river that flows at the foot of the Kremlin, is made, by the Oka, to communicate with the Volga. Now, this majestic river, which passes through a great portion of European Russia, in its course of nearly a thousand leagues, forms, as is well known, the junction between the seas of the north and those of the south, between the Baltic and the Caspian. A railroad, moreover, is about to connect Moscow directly with St. Petersburg, that is to say,

* *Perooprestonïi i stolitchnïi gorod.*

with the Baltic, independently of a magnificent road, constructed by the army twenty years ago, and which afforded a great facility of communication. All the roads of the interior of the country either end or touch at Moscow. People pass through this town in going from the capital of the north to the Crimea or to the Caucasus; it is the same in travelling towards Kasan and Siberia, or when they repair to the populous fair of Nijni-Novogorod, where the east and the west seem to give each other a rendezvous every year in the month of July.*

The real power of Russia is there, in the centre. The government of Moscow is the best peopled of all: there each square verste is computed to contain forty-eight inhabitants; whereas, in that of St. Petersburg, the density of the population is only from sixteen to seventeen souls in the same space; in that of Novogorod, it is less than nine; in that of Archangel,† there is but one inhabitant in three square verstes; and at the other end of the empire, in the government of Astrakhan, each verste contains but two at the utmost. The greater number of the governments grouped about that of Moscow are likewise among those which are the best peopled: that of Toula reckons forty-six souls to the square verste, that of Riaisan nearly thirty-seven, that of Kalouga thirty-six, that of Vladimir about thirty; that of Smolensk is reckoned at about twenty-four, and that of Tver at from twenty-two to twenty-three. A little further,

* Business is done annually at this fair to the amount of 120 or 130 millions of francs.

† In Russian, *Arkhangelsk*.

Koursk has from forty-two to forty-three, Orel thirty-six, and Jaroslavl nearly thirty-two. By adding together the fourteen governments of the centre, comprised for the most part within ancient Russia-Major, we find a group of seventeen millions of souls, concentrated on a space of about 600,000 square verstes, or a space equal in extent to France, Belgium, and the Netherlands taken together, whereas all European Russia, on a superficies of nearly five millions of square verstes, that is to say, eight times greater, has scarcely more than three times this population.

This is not all. This agglomeration of men, more compact than elsewhere, is also by far the most industrious, and, consequently, the richest and the least ignorant. Of about 7,000 establishments of factories and manufactories that Russia possessed in 1842, more than a thousand, or one seventh, belonged to the government of Moscow, where nearly 100,000 workmen were employed out of about 420,000 men devoted to the industrious arts throughout the empire. Vladimir, whose rich village, the property of the Counts Cheremetieff, is well known, shares also this prosperity, concentrated in the heart of the state; but Moscow is its principal source. Manufacture is there rapidly progressing, as a few figures will prove. In 1820 this town received only 100,000 *pouds** of cotton; but it received 450,000 in 1842.

Finally, the very aspect of Moscow proclaims it to be the capital of the empire. At St. Petersburg, when the whole town is not shrouded in snow, you might believe yourself to be in one of the capitals of Western

* The *poud* is 40 Russian pounds, or about 30lbs. English weight.

Europe; except the beards and caftans, you perceive nothing particular, — no different civilization. The bustle in the streets is such as is seen in every large town, and the architecture, far from being characteristic, reminds you at one time of Rome and Greece, at another of Holland or modern Italy.* At Moscow, although the town is likewise modern in general, a stamp of nationality is perceptible, both on the persons of the population and on the walls of the ancient buildings. The conflagration of 1812 has given Moscow a more modern appearance; but the Kremlin remains with its peculiar character and strange style, with its massy, white-washed, and uneven walls, embattled, and pierced with loop-holes, surmounted with towers of every style imaginable, Gothic or Byzantine, and displaying in its interior a whimsical assemblage of churches, monasteries, and palaces, crowded together in a narrow space. This *ensemble*, which calls to mind the intimate union of religion and polity, and of a religion apart—different from that of the West, which is stiff and formal—appeals strongly to the imagination. A vast number of domes, mostly covered with gilded sheet-iron, surmounts this multitude of churches, and on their summits rise innumerable crosses, like a forest of spears, the highest of which, that of Ivân Véliki, seems to be summoning the whole country to prayer. You imagine yourself to be in an immense convent.

* M. de Custine, with his usual exaggeration, calls St. Petersburg "a parody on Greece and Italy, *minus* marble and sunshine" (t. ii. p. 336). And yet, adds he, "if they had thought of the climate of the country, instead of the Greeks and Romans, the Russian architects should have taken moles and ants for their models." (t. iii. p. 249.)

All this is national; and what is more, it is grand. On approaching Moscow by the road from St. Petersburg, the capital does not display itself to the traveller. Without Ivân Véliki, which is perceived in the distance with its gilded balloon* towering above a vast group of similar balls, no one would imagine he was in the vicinity of so large a town; neither does the narrow and confined suburb by which you enter prepare you, by any picturesque effect, for the imposing spectacle which shortly unfolds before you. But when, on arriving from the south by the road from Kalouga, as our brave countrymen did, after gaining the battle of Borodino,† you stop on the brow of the hill, where it declines towards the bed of the Moskva; or when, choosing the most advantageous view, you take your stand on the Sparrow mountain,‡ above the river, at a place where a magnificent temple of the Saviour ought to be raised, in memory of the events of 1812, then the wonderful panorama displayed before you excites an involuntary exclamation of astonishment, and the grandeur of this sight seems to you in keeping with the glory of Peter the Great and Catherine II.

At your feet meanders the Moskva; and the angle it makes before entering the town forms a boundary to gardens, meadows, and that immense plain, devoted to popular festivals, which owes its name of Dévitché-Polé (the plain of nuns) to the convent Novo-Dévitchéi,

* We hardly know how to term these little domes or cupolas, shaped like an inverted onion or turnip, which surmount the roofs of the churches here, or crown the steeples, like that of Ivân Véliki.

† A name given by the Russians to the battle of the Moskva.

‡ *Vorobiefskii Gory.*

situated at its extremity. This peaceful retreat of women consecrated to religion is more like a citadel than a place of prayer and meditation. On the outside of this angle, on your right, rising above the Moskva, are those charming woody hills, dotted with country-houses, where the Neskouscha* attracts the merry-making crowd, and the Hospital Galitsin opens its gates to sick paupers. Further, and close to the wall of the enclosure, is a large monastery, also with embattled walls: this is the revered sanctuary of Our Lady of the Gift. That of St. Daniel is on the bank of the river, which returns back to you after making, in entering Moscow and in leaving it, another angle opposite to the former. Then again, on the other bank, there are also eminences laid out partly in gardens, and partly covered with religious monuments. It is to the heights (*kroutitsy*) that the first episcopal see established at Moscow owed its name. There, not far from the wall of the enclosure, stands the vast monastery of St. Simon, one of the most remarkable places in the town, and Novospasskoï already described, as also Pakrofskoï and Andronieff, and other convents or groups of churches with bulbous cupolas and their pointed spires. These are so many fortresses, ever ready formerly to repel the attacks of the infidel Tartars or the schismatic Lithuanians and Liekhs. Other hills are on your left. But what an enormous mass of houses, some of wood, others of stone, is displayed before you; the latter surmounted with sheet-iron roofs, painted red or green, and the former overshadowed by them or by tufted trees; all

* Close by stands the new palace of the Empress Alexandra.

having wide open spaces between them, filled with gardens, and commanded, here and there, by some church of that Muscovite type in which four small bulbous cupolas are grouped about the principal dome, so scanty yet so ponderous! Let the reader judge of the effect of the whole, when he is informed that he has before him 400 churches, 21 convents, 640 chapels, besides 12,000 houses, of which 3,500 only are of stone, the others being made of wood! Among the stone edifices there is an abundance of sumptuous palaces; they occupy a great space, captivate the eye at once, and form the striking parts of the picture. In the middle rises the hill of the Kremlin, abrupt on the side of the river facing the spectator, and shelving on the opposite side towards the White-Town (*Béloï Gorod*), which forms a semicircle round the Kremlin and the Chinese City (*Kitaï Gorod*), an interior quarter from which, on the east, it is separated by its walls and a large open space. All around this hill wind the embattled walls of which we have spoken, with their whimsical towers belonging to every style imaginable; and above the ramparts stand forth, in an order more apparent than real, clusters of those churches, convents, and palaces, of no less fantastical and diversified forms than those to which we have already alluded. Beholding this, Europe is forgotten: this heterogeneous mixture of donjons of the middle ages, of Moorish minarets and Indian pagodas, hovering like an aerial city above the town kneeling at its feet, perplexes the senses and confounds the imagination of the spectator, dazzled, moreover, by the sparkling rays with which the reflection of the sun surrounds all

these richly gilded and brilliantly polished metallic cupolas.

In the 26th bulletin of the grand army, dated October, 23rd, 1812, we read the following lines: "The emperor caused the Kremlin to be undermined; it was blown up by the Duke of Treviso on the 23rd, at two o'clock in the morning. The whole was destroyed; that ancient citadel and the first palace of the czars are no more."

Luckily, it is no such thing. The first palace of the czars has, it is true, been transformed; but above the new constructions still rises the old *têrem*, an upper story appropriated to the gynaceum, and reminding the beholder, by the shape of its roof, of the usual style of the Russian houses. The diamond-shaped palace (*Granovitaïa Palata*) is adjacent to it, as it was formerly; and at the coronation of Nicholas, the imperial banquet-table was placed, as in the time of Joann the Terrible, beneath the heavy ogives in its spacious hall. Whether standing on the steps of the palace or descending the red staircase (*krassnoïé kryltso*), the spectator is ever amid sanctuaries adored by the nation, the master-pieces of Aleviso and Fioravanti-Aristotele of Bologna. Two portions of the wall of the enclosure, two small towns, one steeple, and a quarter of the arsenal were blown up;* but all the other buildings remained uninjured; the Kremlin has not changed its appearance; and, lucky would it have been if the buildings undertaken by the present so-

* See the pamphlet by Count Rostoptchin, entitled "La Verité sur l'Incendie de Moscou," p. 41. The author assures us that the repairs cost at most only 500,000 francs (20,000*l.*).

vereign had not done more harm than the wrath of the foreign conqueror to its interior arrangement.

As to the conflagration, it destroyed, according to the report of the governor-general, three-fourths of the houses.* Rostoptchin has endeavoured to throw the responsibility of it upon the French; but time has already redressed this accusation; we have said to what that catastrophe is to be attributed, which in a Russian point of view cannot be called a misfortune, and we believe this to be the "*truth on the conflagration.*"

The calamity was particularly disastrous to the Béloï Gorod, the Zemlianoi Gorod (the earthen city) and the outward faubourgs: there, an immense fire, the first heat of which forced Napoleon to retreat with all speed from the Kremlin, to gain the palace of Pétrofski outside the town, left only the most solid edifices standing; about a thousand mansions, a few hundred churches, and a small number of public buildings scattered in those quarters, as the Orphan Asylum, an edifice that covers an immense space of ground, or like the tower of Soukhareff, the last product of ancient days, the last link by which the Emperor Peter I., who caused it to be finished, connected the productions of his reign with those of his predecessors.

However, Moscow arose triumphant from this visita-

* Nevertheless, "according to calculations made by a commission, the damage occasioned by the fire and warfare, both in the city and in the government of Moscow, amounted to only 321,000,000 of roubles."—Rostoptchin, "La Verité sur l'Incendie de Moscou," p. 34. This does not give a very high idea of the immovable effects existing in Russian cities. The bulletin spoke of "several billions."

tion; all the other towns hastened to contribute to its assistance; and all its wealthy inhabitants were lavish of their treasures in order to raise it from its ashes, in greater beauty, regularity, and splendour than before. Ten years had hardly elapsed before it was rebuilt; merely a few ruins scattered here and there, in the most remote quarters, still bore witness to the terrible catastrophe which destroyed the power of the dominator of the west. The wooden huts were only to be seen at the extremities of the town, the space they had occupied being replaced by brick houses in the interior parishes; new palaces were erected; the streets assumed more regularity; and promenades and magnificent squares left a more free access to the citadel.

The character of the town has little altered; for that character arises from the diversified irregularities of an undulating ground, and from the manners of the principal inhabitants, accustomed to an Asiatic pomp, followed by a train of a legion of servants, and who would be stifled in their opulent mansions were space measured out to them too parsimoniously. Moscow is no longer the *great village* of former days, though kitchen-gardens still occupy a great portion of the ground; extensive gardens and spacious courts still separate the houses from each other; and verdant trees, which form a strong contrast with the red roofs which they surround, have not ceased to enliven the landscape, one of the most picturesque that it is possible to imagine. Still irregular, even in its new arrangement, this city does not possess the monotonous beauty of its rival; in lieu of the cold symmetry of the

latter, and its endless straight rows of houses, it presents the capricious variety of its undulating ground, which affords at every step some new surprise to the traveller, and it unites moreover to the charms of nature, whose freedom it respects, the interest of historical monuments, so dear to patriotism and religion.

Such is Moscow, the *mother of the Russian cities*, the ancient seat—and the future seat we must hope—of a power that sways the destiny of more than half Europe.

About the beginning of August, 1826, its streets assumed a singularly animated appearance, although its population, in disproportion to the vast extent of the city, was, even then less than 250,000 souls.* But the works in preparation for the festivals, the temporary buildings erected in every quarter, especially about the Kremlin, the scaffolding with which the ground and even the walls were covered; in one word, the need of a greater number of working men, had made it necessary to send for a multitude of labourers, and the peasants of the adjacent governments, attracted by the prospect of abundant wages or some considerable benefit attached to extraordinary exertion, and enticed likewise by curiosity and their taste for religious ceremonies, crowded thither of their own accord. Moreover, the nobility and landed proprietors were leaving their estates to return to town, followed by their usual train of equipages, horses, and servants. Their extravagance in the last-mentioned particular is well known. Certain great lords maintain in their castles from three to four

* It now exceeds 350,000 souls; and the population of St. Petersburg amounts to more than 470,000.

hundred of their serfs; and more than fifty are sometimes attached to their personal service. They take a great number with them on their journeys, and when they go to pass the winter season in the towns, they thus add a third or a quarter to the usual population. At Moscow, these fluctuations are renewed every year; but in the summer season, the mansions of the rich, till then crowded, are generally abandoned; and the streets are empty, excepting during the hours when the numerous factory workmen are discharged from their labour.

At the time of which we are speaking, these able-bodied men, whose rude unceremonious manners form a contrast with the humble behaviour of their countrymen in the northern capital, added their boisterous numbers to the crowds which thronged the country around.

St. Petersburg also sent there a choice portion of its inhabitants: on the road between the two capitals, eight hundred horses of *iamtchiks** at every stage, were barely sufficient for the service of the travellers. All the great families caused themselves to be represented at Moscow by some of their members; travellers and tourists were arriving from every quarter of Europe, and the diplomatic corps, augmented by embassies extraordinary, which abounded with eminent personages, formed alone, with the servants whom each person brought with him, a small army, thirsting, not for combat, but for intrigues, fine sights, and amusements. As soon as they arrived, the representatives of

* Men who let out carriages and horses, and form a particular corporation.

France and England vied with each other in luxury and elegance; and, being unable to imitate their example, the envoys of the other courts helped at least to increase the brilliancy of the festivals and the pomp of the processions by their personal splendour and the outward show of their sumptuous liveries.

Every state, great and small, had put itself to extraordinary expense: the pope himself, then still on friendly terms with Russia, was represented by a nuncio.*

Turkey and Persia alone had not sent any ambassadors; peace was not yet concluded with the former, and the latter had been meditating ever since the accession of Nicholas, an aggression which she soon expiated by the loss of several provinces and by a heavy contribution for the expense of the war which the conqueror imposed on her treasury. The news of the first hostilities and the advantages gained by surprise at the extreme frontier, arrived at Moscow at the very time when all was in preparation for the festivals; it caused a momentary astonishment, but made no alteration in the arrangements, and was soon forgotten.

However, in the absence of the two principal powers of the East, Asia was not without representatives at Moscow. Besides Taïmouray, the Tsarévitch of Grousia, Prince Tariel, Dadian of Mingrelia, Prince Matchoutadzé, the minister of Gouriel Mamia, the same who a few years later became the favourite of his master's widow, and advised her to embrace the cause of the Turks against Russia—these Christian representatives

* This nuncio was Bernetti, soon after made a cardinal. The Cardinal of Litta was likewise present.

of the old Georgian nation of the Caucasus had sent a crowd of its warlike sons, for the most part followers of islamism. The Chamkhal, the semi-sovereign Prince, of Tarkou,* had commissioned his son, Haider-Bek, to compliment the great Muscovite emperor in his name; another petty sovereign, Achmet Khan, of Mekhtoulin, in Daghestan, had come in person, accompanied by the son of the first Kadi of Akkouchin, a territory in the same province. The Khanats of Chirvan and Cheki, on the extreme frontier of Persia, had also appointed deputies, as also had the greater and the lesser Cabardah, situated on this side of the mountains towards the north. From this country of the Tcherkesses, then quiet, but destined soon to become the scene of the heroic efforts of Chamyl, (or Shamyl) the Abd-el-Kader of the Caucasus, had come several ouzdens or noble warriors whose fine appearance, martial mien, picturesque costume, and richly jewelled arms, which they wore ostentatiously in their girdle or hanging by their side, were the subject of admiration. Among these mountaineers, a Prince Bekovitch Tcherkasskoï, of the Lesser Kabardahre, called to mind, by his name, an illustrious Muscovite family,

* The Chamkhal of Tarkou or Tarki, in Daghestan, has long been connected with the history of Russia, first as a dangerous enemy, and afterwards as a useful ally. Nevertheless the newspapers of the capital were, even in 1826, utterly ignorant respecting him. On the occasion of his son being present at the coronation, the "Journal de St. Petersbourg" (No. 104), speaks of the *Schakhmal* of *Tarkhousk*, and the "German Gazette" (No. 70), still more faithful to the Russian original, terms this prince the *Schachmala-Targowskü*. Yet *chamkhal* and *chefkhal* are titles very anciently known. The present chamkhal is Souleïman-Khan, privy-councillor of Russia, with which title he was invested as prince on the 1st of July, 1833.

originally from the same province. Several held the rank of officers in the imperial army; a few even adorned themselves with the grand ribands of the orders of Russia; but among them there were also some who dressed in skins of animals, wearing hairy caps, and—armed to the teeth—looked like real savages. The same may be said of a few Baschkir deputies.

These costumes, either fantastical or agreeable to the eye, but full of originality, with the high fur-caps of the Boukhars, the turbans and wide Turkish dresses of the Moldavians and Valakians, the strictly plain garments of the Armenians, and the more picturesque and elegant ones of the Georgians and Persians, added considerably to the interest of the spectacle which the streets of the ancient capital then presented, and occasioned, of course, extreme diversity. But among the guests who had come from the frontiers of Asia, there were yet two others who deserved to attract the attention of the beholder. They were Khans or sultans of Kirghises-Kaïssaks. This tribe, whose Turkish blood is mingled with the Mongol, occupy the immense steppes around the Caspian sea and that of Aral: living a wandering life, they obey their own chiefs, and acknowledge,—nominally, at the utmost,—the supremacy of Russia or that of China. It is divided into two sections, the Kirghises of the East and those the West; the former have no connexion with Europe, but the others, being divided into three hordes or *ordes*, are beginning to form with her relations of commerce, friendship, and even of subjection.

The one of their princes present at Moscow was

Sartaï Tchinghissoff, a sultan of the middle horde, settled between the Upper-Irtysch and the sea of Aral. He was a true child of Asia, a stranger to European manners, being ignorant of history and doubtless inwardly full of disdain for our pretended superiority; perhaps the blood of Tchinghiz-Khan still flowed in his veins. He wore an oriental costume, half Turkish and half Mongol; and his turban ending in a conical point, like those of the people of Morocco, recalled to mind the head-dress of the kings of the East in our oldest paintings.

The other Kirghis prince, likewise dressed in the oriental style, was Djanghir Boukeïeff or the son of Boukeï. Being the chief of that portion of the small horde settled on the territory of Russia, in the government of Astrakhan at the east of the Volga, he acknowledged himself the vassal of that power. Compared with his colleague of the steppe, Djanghir might be considered as a civilized person. He was mostly seen accompanied by his wife, the sultana, veiled from head to foot, yet proving by her single presence that the seclusion of the harem had lost the obligatory character of ancient custom. She was present, moreover, at every festival, whether at the court or in public. The son of Boukeï, on his part, had long quitted the *kibitka*,* the singular dwelling of his fathers, as also of all the Kirghise-Kaïssak people, to live in the European manner in solid and commodious mansions, where he displayed a magnificent hospitality. His table, on those occasions, was sumptuous, and served with every delicacy; and goblets were filled

* A waggon covered over with a tent of felt, like those of the Kalmucks.

with the best wines of France. But he himself, faithful to the precepts of the Koran, drank only *koumiss*, the usual beverage made of mare's milk fermented. The emperor had bestowed upon him the grade of major-general and the riband of one of his orders. His sons received, like the sons of Chamyl, the Murid, a superior education in the establishment for pages at St. Petersburg. In his own person, the Khan Djanghir* had the manners of a well-bred man: he was polite, engaging, and most attentive to his guests. Accordingly, he was treated with distinction, and styled *Vache stepenstvo* or *Vaché Vysokostepenstvo*, "Your Lordship of the Steppe." This steppe was, in fact, his usual residence, and he commanded there about 16,000 *kibitkas*, to which belonged more than 100,000 persons, 500,000 horses, 100,000 camels, and about 1,000,000 of animals of the sheep species.

Thus, even the sons of the steppe are becoming transformed, and consenting to adopt some of the manners and customs of Europe. Our civilization is extending to Asia; nevertheless, she still preserves her own particular character; and, on beholding several of the men whose portraits we are sketching, you would imagine yourself transported into a new world, known only by the wonderful accounts of travellers.

* The election of these khans takes place at Orenburg under the auspices of the Russian government. Boukeï had been elected in 1812, and Djanghir, in 1823. The latter died on the 23rd of August, 1845, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Saheb-Ghiraï. The son was expected to return from St. Petersburg, and a grand festival was in preparation for the occasion in the encampment of the horde on the Torgoun; all the people were invited; races with horses and camels were to take place with other amusements, when the news of the khan's death was spread abroad and put an end to all these preparations.

But in Moscow, the city of contrasts, their appearance, perhaps, was less striking than it would have been in any other place: so far from seeming out of character, these biblical types seemed, on the contrary, in harmony with some of those monuments which had stood for ages in a transformed and renovated city, particularly with that extremely original church of Vassili Blagennoï* which terminates the magnificent Red Market (*Krassnaïa Ploschtchad*) on the south, at a few steps only from the Saviour's Gate, that principal entrance to the Kremlin, where nobody passes without uncovering his head. Next to the Kremlin itself, Vassili Blagennoï is the most wonderful monument in Moscow; like the former, it is one of the last witnesses of another period and of a different civilization. Every part of this masterpiece of the fantastic style is new and unexpected; it is truly, what it has been called —a colossal crystallization. The bulk of the edifice, which is heavy, low, and devoid of symmetry, and everything that can be called a *façade*, is surmounted with sixteen towers or cupolas, variegated with a thousand colours, and overloaded with eccentric ornaments, which remind one of the Chinese imitations on Saxon porcelain. Above this multitude of domes, some bulbous in the Russian fashion, others pointed and of a Gothic appearance, but no two of them alike, rises a pyramidal spire, which, offering the same variety of colours and sculptural ornaments, ends in a small dome of the same character. At the sight of this strange production of a fanciful and wild imagination,

* Dedicated to the protection or intercession of the Virgin, and, for this reason, termed in Russian, *Pakrofski Sabor*.

the spectator finds himself disconcerted, and naturally turns about to see whether the whole scene has not changed its aspect: everything is found to be permanent, however, and there is nothing about you to harmonize with this sudden revelation of an art in which every style is confounded, and which, by an incredible abuse of colours and mouldings, has only struck you with astonishment, without reaching the sublime or producing any grand effect.

Besides, though this picture is unquestionably beautiful, there is in reality a medley in every part: the stiff lines of the embattled walls of the Kremlin, together with its menacing turrets, have no architectural connexion with the immense Gastinoï-Dvor or bazaar which forms the opposite side; and the Grecian style of the bronze statues of the Minine and Pojarski monuments form a contrast with the shapeless mass of stone called Lobnoïé Mesto,* which is often mentioned in the history of Russia, and was at once a kind of forum and a place of execution.

But to return to the bustle, becoming daily more considerable, occasioned by the approaching festivities, in the streets of Moscow;—we may well imagine that the army had likewise a full share of it. A numerous detachment of the guard, to which most of the regiments had furnished their contingent, had arrived from St. Petersburg; to the 5th corps of infantry, long quartered in that government, had been added several divisions of grenadiers and one of hulans. The whole of these forces could not be estimated at less than

* Chief place or capitol.

50,000 men, 24,000 of whom occupied a camp in the vicinity of the palace Pétrofski.

It was at this palace, a large brick rotunda, surrounded by walls, surmounted with towers and Gothic donjons, that the emperor had at first alighted. The road from St. Petersburg passes in front of the edifice, which is only three verstes from Moscow. A few days were passed in reviews and evolutions; but, on the 6th of August (July 25th), the solemn entrance took place. The troops formed a double line from Pétrofski to the Kremlin, and the procession was prolonged to an immense extent. Nicholas was on horseback, accompanied by the Grand-Duke Michael and Prince Charles of Prussia; the empress followed him in a state-carriage, having by her side the youthful heir to the throne. The sound of the bells was mingled with the roar of the cannon, but the voices of the people, louder than either, drowned them with their continual *hourras*. The resolute air of the monarch, his regular features, majestic deportment, and the activity of his movements overawed the crowd. In their estimation he appeared the true elect of God coming to receive the sacred oil upon his brow: he seemed like David ascending to Sion. They welcomed him with transports of joy, and turned their eyes from him only to contemplate his young and handsome, though still sickly consort, a devotion which, together with the affectionate solicitude testified towards her by her husband, added to the interest which her presence inspired.

Nature had lavished her gifts upon that imperial couple. It was not the style of beauty of Alexander and Elizabeth, that affecting expression of gentleness

of character, and the most exquisite sensibility; that of Nicholas and Alexandra, on the one hand, more regular and faultless, was, on the other, more firm and commanding; it was rather dazzling than charming. The emperor and the empress reminded one of nearly the same type of physiognomy, rather Germanic than Russian: excepting the shade of difference natural between two sexes of which one represents especially strength, and the other especially grace, there was a singular exterior uniformity in their persons. As we have said, at that period the correct and noble features of the czar, animated by that sense of superiority which proceeds from the right of command, still required to dilate and become softened by an habitual commerce with mankind, and his body had not yet that fulness which it afterwards assumed. Alexandra, on her side, was tall, well made, graceful, and, at the same time, commanding. She had fine and delicate features; her form was rather elegant than rich; she did not possess that style of beauty which the people in Russia prize above everything else,—a high colour,* and a firmness of flesh, together with a certain plumpness; but the rather cool and haughty expression of her physiognomy, the dignity of her deportment, and her slightest action, proclaimed her to be born for a throne. Some persons have imagined they perceived a degree of timidity in her occasionally scrutinizing and sometimes undecided look; but more skilful observers† have considered this as nothing more than the expression of that reserve which is constantly circumspect, and

* In Russian, *krassno*, red, is synonimous with beautiful, *prikassno*. *Krassnaïa ploschtchad* means either a red or a beautiful square.

† For instance, Prince Kozlofski.

needs also to observe others, a disposition very natural in the sphere in which the princess is placed. Charlotte of Prussia shewed this kind of reserve even in her childhood, even as she gave promise, at that early age, of a superior mind and the love of command. When she was only ten years of age, her mother, Queen Louisa, wrote to her father, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the following lines respecting her :—

" Our daughter Charlotte gives me greater satisfaction every day : although she is rather reserved than communicative, she conceals, like her father, under a cool outward behaviour, a warm heart which can sympathize with every kind of affliction. She abounds with love and sensibility ; yet her manner would seem to shew indifference. Hence proceeds that stateliness which is so remarkable in her behaviour.* If God should preserve her life, I have a presentiment that a brilliant destiny awaits her."

This prognostic of a clear-sighted mother was no chimera : it has been confirmed by time, in the moral point of view, as well as in what relates to her outward position.

The imperial couple, welcomed with continual shouts of joyous enthusiasm, thus advanced through the winding and uneven streets of Arbate, a quarter terminated on either hand by broad boulevards. The houses were hung with cloth of velvet, and all the windows were thronged with spectators. After passing the boulevard of Tver, a very agreeable promenade, frequented by

* *Scheinbar gleichgültig geht sie einher, hat aber viele Liebe und Theilnahme. Daher kommt es dass sie etwas Vornehmes in ihrem Wesen hat.*

people of fashion, the procession entered the quarter called Tverskaïa, and soon after, issuing out of a street of the same name, it passed before the walls of the Kremlin, the foot of which is adorned on that side with gardens, laid out with art, and affording a cool shade, very agreeable in a season when the thermometer shewed more than 25° R. for whole weeks together.* The Red-Market, which was thronged with a dense crowd, and where every roof around was loaded with spectators, presented a magnificent spectacle. They had now passed the chapel of the miraculous virgin of Iveria, adjacent to the gates of Vosskrecensk, and were in front of Vassili Blagennoï, that incredible production of an architecture at once learned and barbarous. Then, turning to the right, they passed under the arches of the Saviour's gate, surmounted with his holy image before which everybody uncovers. The emperor gave the example of this pious practice. On arriving at the Kremlin, he had the most picturesque *tableau* before him. On his right was the elegant monastery of Voznécensk, an asylum for pious women weary of the tumult of the world; next, the ancient palace Nicholas, the projecting wing of which conceals the convent of Tchoudoff, or the Miracles; beyond, was the gigantic Ivân Véliki towering above the whole; then, still further, were domes of different cathedrals, and the new palace, the residence of the emperors. On the left, at the foot of the ramparts, was the whole of the southern part of the town, as far as the hills by which it is

* The heat was extreme for nearly a month; however, during the night of the 19th of August, a slight frost was perceptible. The weather, which had been beautiful till the day of the coronation, changed soon after; and rain soon brought on the frost.

bounded,—a vast mass of houses with red or green roofs, separated from one another by gardens; above which appeared a vast number of steeples and domes of the most fantastic forms. After a few steps across this beautiful esplanade, the effect of which would be unrivalled, if the river, better imbanked, had a more pure and abundant stream, they at length reached the porch of the Cathedral of the Assumption (*Ouspenski Sabor*), where the clergy were awaiting the arrival of the august visitors. The emperor and the empress then alighted; and, after having kissed the cross, presented to them by the archbishop, they entered the temple, bowed before the images of Christ and the Virgin of Vladimir, and remained buried for a short time in silent prayer. Deputations of the nobility and citizens came, according to ancient custom, and offered them *bread and salt* on magnificent silver trays, as an emblem of hospitality. It was late when they retired to the palace, where they were to take up their temporary abode.

The coronation, postponed from one week to another for all sorts of reasons, was ultimately fixed to take place on Sunday the 3rd of September, which was the 22nd of August, according to the Russian calendar. It could not have taken place on the preceding Sunday, as that day was devoted to the festival of the Assumption,* which was celebrated with much pomp in the cathedral, dedicated to it; and the two previous weeks had been a season of fasting, with which public festivities would be incompatible.

The Russians have four periods of fasting in the

* *Ouspénié Bogoroditsy.*

year. The longest is that before Easter, commemorative of the Passion; it lasts seven weeks, and admits the use of but few species of nourishment. That of Christmas continues for forty days, beginning on the 15th of November (old style). The fast in June, the second in point of date, lasts also for several weeks. That of August is the shortest; it begins on the 1st of that month, a day on which that consecration of the waters is renewed, which is celebrated with so much pomp at the Epiphany (the 6th of January), and which for this reason is called the *feast of the Jordan.*

Let us say a few words, in passing, about this festival, celebrated in commemoration of the baptism of Jesus Christ. The solemnities of religious worship occupy so great a portion of the lives of the Russians, who are generally devout, that it is impossible to pass them by in silence in a faithful account of their manners and civilization. They compensate the people for the privations they endure, make them forget for a moment the hardships of life, and contribute to entertain in them that imperturbable gaiety, the offspring of recklessness and courage, which characterizes the Russian *moujik,* who is so remarkable, likewise, for the divers faculties with which nature has richly endowed him.

At St. Petersburg the consecration of the waters takes place on the Neva, in presence of the emperor, the whole court, the guard, and the clergy of the various parishes. A large opening is made in the ice on the river, under a pavilion magnificently decorated. At the moment the archbishop plunges into the waves the "vivifying cross," a flourish of trumpets is heard, answered by the roar of artillery. The pontiff then

dips into this consecrated water the end of a branch of sweet basil with which he makes the sign of the cross on the foreheads of the principal persons present. On the 1st of August a similar pavilion was constructed at Moscow on the bank of the Moskva. About nine o'clock the procession of the cross, consisting of more than four hundred prelates, priests, chief deacons, and deacons, issued forth from the convent of miracles and walked towards the river, escorting all the royal family. This procession took almost the same road as that on Palm Sunday, by which, formerly, they represented, in ancient Muscovy, the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem. Many a traveller has given us an account of this triumphal march of the church. The Saviour was there represented by the patriarch, who, cross in hand, was seated on a mare, whose bridle was held by the czar himself, supported by his principal ministers. The procession used to go from the Kremlin to the church of Vassili-Blagennoï, and then to the Lobnoïé-Mesto, situated in the same place.* But this relates to the past; let us return to the period now under our consideration. The procession of the Jordan turned round the church and descended towards the river, where the consecration of the waters was made with much pomp and in presence of the whole population. After the ceremony the faithful rushed in crowds towards the pavilion, and to draw some of this consecrated water in small vessels for the use of their domestic worship.

* For what relates to the procession, the reader may consult, among other works, Adelung's "Meyerberg und seine Reise nach Russland," p. 200, *et seq.* This scholar, so worthy of regret, has left some very curious works in MS.

The other festival, that of the 15th, or rather of the 27th, according to our Gregorian style, put an end to the fast, a period of devotion, interrupted this time by the noise of the preparations making on every side, and by the bustle inseparable from so numerous a gathering of people. An unexpected event which diffused great joy in the imperial abode, electrified the population on that day from one end of the town to the other.

The festival of the patron-saint was just beginning; and the people were crowding about the guard drawn up on parade before the palace. Suddenly they saw the emperor appear at the entrance, having on his left the Grand-Duke Michael, and on his right the Grand-Duke Constantine. The three brothers were clasping each other by the hand, and their countenances were beaming with joy. Immediately the crowd was transported with incredible enthusiasm; their felt caps were flung into the air, a thunder of applause burst forth, and the whole citadel resounded with prolonged shouts of *Hourra the Emperor! Hourra Constantine!* But soon the latter cry alone was heard, and the emperor's look of complacency shewed that he understood and approved the general acclamation. But the earnest and open expression of his joy contrasted with the embarrassed countenance of the cæsarovitch, astonished at this outburst of popular enthusiasm, and attempting in vain to attribute it to the emperor. He knitted his long bushy white eyebrows, and his small piercing blue eyes assumed for a moment a savage expression, which, however, soon gave way to a dignified and modest calmness, a sign of his inward satisfaction. The

applause was repeated with twofold energy, and lasted till the voice of the czar, commanding the troops, imposed silence on the multitude.

Constantine had arrived from Warsaw the day before. Believing the coronation to be fixed for the 15th, he had made his arrangements so as to be at Moscow on the 14th, but without giving notice to anybody, wishing to afford his brother an agreeable surprise. Indeed, he was by no means expected, when he presented himself at the palace. Since the death of Alexander, and the generous contention of which that death had been the occasion, the two brothers had not met. An aide-de-camp hastened to announce Constantine to the emperor. At the words "The Grand-Duke!" the latter, being still occupied in dressing, thought it was his brother Michael, and was sending word to excuse himself for a moment. But the aide-de-camp hesitated, and, on being questioned with a look by the monarch, he added with emotion, "the cæsarovitch!" Nicholas immediately uttering an exclamation of joy, rushed out to meet his brother. Constantine seized his hand and kissed it, with a low bow;* but Nicholas embraced him, lavished upon him every proof of gratitude and respect, and wept for joy upon his breast.

What a moment was that for those two brothers! One coming to crown his work of reconciliation and to convert a sacrifice into a free and cordial homage; the other accepting, with as much gratitude as humility, that sacrifice which he had allowed to have all the merit of being spontaneous, and—happy in the consolation which his conscience afforded him on this head—

* It is said that he presented himself with the report in his hand.

abandoning himself unreservedly to the dictates of his heart.

This event occasioned extreme delight throughout the palace : the court was for a moment in an ecstacy of joy, which was soon shared abroad by everybody who was informed of the auspicious news.

For several days the enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds. Scarcely could the cæsarovitch appear before they surrounded him, and testified by their almost frantic acclamations, what pleasure they had in beholding him on such an occasion. They crowded about him to such a degree, that it was necessary to keep his horses at a foot pace ; and mothers would lift their children above the heads of the people to shew them the prince, the object of this universal ovation. Constantine bowed to them calmly, and his Polish uniform seemed to bespeak him to be nothing more than the czar's lieutenant in one of his distant provinces, his first subject, ready to set everybody an example of fidelity and devotion.

Military *fêtes* filled up the interval till the third of September. In one of them, Nicholas perceived General Paskévitsch on the very spot where that distinguished officer had presumed, some years before, to address him in severe language in presence of a whole regiment. Assuming immediately a solemn countenance : "Do you remember," said he, "how you once treated me here ? Now the wind has changed ; take care I do not repay you with interest !" A few days after, he appointed him general-in-chief. Such was the vengeance of the emperor ; and soon that warrior shewed himself worthy of such generous conduct by

gaining victories over those Persians who, at the very time the words we have just related were pronounced, had dared to violate the frontier of the empire.*

On the 31st of August (new style) a fantastical cavalcade passed through the streets of Moscow: it consisted of grand-masters and masters of the ceremonies† in full dress, who announced to the people the day on which the coronation was to take place. They marched to the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, escorted by two squadrons of the guard on horseback, carrying banners, followed by lackeys, and preceded by two heralds at arms, distinguished by their Gothic dress, copied from the middle ages. This cavalcade stopped at every cross-road, and in the public squares. Functionaries of an inferior rank, by whom the masters of the ceremonies were accompanied, read a proclamation, copies of which they distributed among the crowd, who had been attracted by this spectacle.

On the eve of the day appointed, a preparatory service was celebrated in every church; and the imperial family attended that of the old palace of the czars, called the Saviour behind the golden grate,‡ the extent

* See for what concerns the early hostilities, begun in the beginning of August, 1825, Nos. 101 and 121 of the "Journal de St. Petersbourg." Matters were arranged for a short time with the Turks. Paskévitch, crowned with laurels in the war against Persia, and afterwards in those against Turkey and Poland, was again promoted to the rank of field-marshal, and successively named Count d'Erivan and Prince of Warsaw. As Viceroy of Poland, it is said that he is soon to receive for his successor the Grand-Duke Michael, and to take the place of Prince Vassiltchkoff, who died this year (1847), as president of the council of the empire.

† Headed by General Count de Lambert.

‡ *Spass za zolotoïou rechotkoïou.*

of which is shewn on the outside by nine small cupolas surmounting the roof of the palace, not far from the belvedere (*térem*). Every access to this ancient abode of the sovereigns was thronged with the people, who, as long as the prayers lasted, remained bare-headed, attending mentally to the progress of the service, incessantly bowing and making the sign of the cross.

At length the sun shone bright on the 3rd of September (August 22nd), and its vivid rays enlivened the splendour of an extraordinary pomp such as had not been witnessed for the last twenty-five years.

This pomp was confined to the Kremlin, where nobody was admitted on that day without tickets; even there it had but a very narrow stage, being limited on all sides by churches, palaces, and scaffoldings. But owing to the latter, and to the benches and amphitheatres which, filling every empty space and occupying every wall, scaled even the tower of Ivân Véliki to half its height, room had been afforded to some five or six thousand persons; they, with the troops, were the only witnesses of this solemnity, the multitude, or *black people* being kept at a distance. The monotonous tolling* of the bells had been heard from break of day, and every minute discharges of artillery shook the earth, and provoked *hourras* from the soldiers, whose presence in such numbers, with or without arms, gave this enclosure the look of a fortress.

As early as seven o'clock, the raised seats in the narrow cathedral reserved for ladies and a few privileged individuals, were occupied, and the amphitheatres, on

* In Russia the bells are not rung; the consequence is an unmusical tolling, which sounds like an alarm of fire.

the outside, were crowded with those, who, less lucky, had been obliged to pay rather dearly to the sextons for the right of sitting there. Pent up, as it were, in a vestibule of the temple, these spectators could see only the procession; but they could breathe more at their ease, and had before their eyes the remarkable sight of those animated walls, those thousands of heads one above the other, that prodigious concourse of men and women in holiday attire, braving the heat of a scorching sun, which shewed in a brilliant light the diversity of the costumes and the splendour of the apparel.

In the centre of this temporary enclosure, occupied by that elegant concourse, was the edifice called St. John's Church, of which Ivân Veliki is the aerial steeple, but which itself contains, at several of its stories, as many as thirty-two bells, amongst which figures the ancient belfry of Novogorod.* This building lacks the esplanade of the Kremlin, the platform whence that beautiful view is enjoyed which we have already described; and there stands, on a pedestal, the largest bell in Europe—till lately buried in the ground—where it fell during a conflagration. In front of the church, near the enclosure, the scene of that day's pomp, is the grand post of honour; and, opposite, the palaces, with the three cathedrals which are contiguous to it, describe a kind of semicircle. The usually open space on each side of the church, was now, as we have said, closed up by scaffoldings, covered with red cloth festooned in front. The ancient patriarchal palace, the seat of the holy synod, completed the enclosure on the northern side.

* *Vetchévoïé kolokol.*

Facing St. John's, the three imperial palaces touch each other at their extreme points; in the middle is the old palace of the czars; on the south, the new palace; and on the north, the angular palace (*Granovitaïa Palata*). The broad red staircase (*krassnoïé kryltso*) connected them all with the enclosure; and it was thence that the procession was to descend. At the bottom of the stairs arose a platform, raised about half a yard above the pavement, and about three yards broad. It was likewise covered with red cloth, and furnished with a balustrade, which a rank of chevalier-guards lined on either side; whilst, on the ground beyond, different chosen detachments, several ranks deep, were drawn up, and behind them were the bands of the two regiments. All the officers stood together about the grand post.

This raised platform described two principal parallel lines in the enclosure. One united the cathedral, where the coronation was to take place, to that of the Annunciation; it ended at the southern side door of Ouspenski, and communicated, by the interior of the church, with another platform which began at the northern door. This other platform was connected by an angle with the second line, which reached from the patriarchal palace, to the church of the Archangel Michael. From the Red Stairs, a short platform came forth perpendicularly on the first line, and completed the communication between all the edifices surrounding the enclosure.

Thus, on descending those stairs, the procession had only to walk for a short distance on the perpendicular platform to enter upon the first of the two parallel

lines. Then, leaving on the right the cathedral of the Annunciation, with its nine gilt cupolas, adjacent to the palace, and that of the Archangel, where the old czars lie buried, it was to turn off to the left towards the Cathedral of the Assumption, and enter it by the southern door.*

At ten o'clock, the first procession, that of the empress-mother, began to move. With a crown on her brow, and robed in the imperial purple, that princess advanced under a magnificent canopy, and went to take her place in the temple, where the *corps diplomatique* had joined the other spectators, and the clergy, at prayers, dressed in their richest apparel, were awaiting the autocrat and his family. Maria Foëdorovna was followed by the Grand-Duchess Helena, like herself arrayed in great state. She was covered with sparkling jewels; but the splendour of her beauty and the gracefulness of her person outshone those costly ornaments, and caused them to be unnoticed. Next came Prince Charles of Prussia, leading by the hand the youthful Grand-Duke Alexander Nikolaïévitch, the heir to the throne; then came all the Wurtemburg family, and, after them, Prince Philip de Hesse-Hombourg, the Austrian ambassador-extraordinary.

* To form an exact idea of this ground, as also of the interior of the church, one cannot do better than consult the beautiful work published under the following title:—"Vues des Cérémonies les plus Intéressantes du Couronnement de LL. MM. II. l'Empereur Nicolas I., et l'Impératrice Alexandra," Paris, 1828, in folio. The text is only a copy of a few articles from the "Journal de Saint Pétersbourg;" but the coloured engravings perfectly represent the festivals and the localities where they took place.

In the second procession were seen, as in the time of the ancient czars, the insignia of sovereign authority, the crowns, the sceptre, the globe, the standard,* the imperial purple, the mantle, and the other ornaments intended for the empress, borne in procession to the temple, where the holy liturgy had just been concluded. The clergy received these ornaments at the entrance, enveloped them in clouds of incense, consecrated them, and then bore them to the place where they were to be employed.

At length, about eleven o'clock, the principal procession issued forth from the palace, and was hailed with the most enthusiastic acclamations. The emperor, in a brilliant uniform, walked in front of a magnificent canopy, borne by sixteen generals, whilst sixteen others of superior rank held the bands. Nicholas was bare-headed, and had, on either side, his two brothers, whose respectful bearing shewed to still greater advantage the air of majesty that pervaded his whole person. Behind him followed Baron de Diebitsch, general-in-chief of the staff, Count Zakrefski, general aide-de-camp on duty, and Count Orloff, colonel in the cuirassiers of the guard. The latter walked sword in hand. Under the canopy appeared the Empress Alexandra; she was dressed in a robe of silver gauze, but, in other respects, wore no ornaments but her natural charms; yet her deportment proclaimed her to be a sovereign. She was followed by her first ladies of honour, and eminent personages of

* It is of yellow satin embroidered with gold lace and fringe. In the middle, is the imperial eagle of Russia, and all around are the arms of the ancient kingdoms and the different provinces belonging to the empire.

the state: the old General Count de Sacken, Count Kotchoubeï and Prince Peter Volkonski served to support her. The council of the empire, the ministers, the senators of highest rank, the generals-in-chief, the general aides-de-camp, and the whole court, with the supreme marshal of the coronation at their head,* preceded or followed the imperial personages; whilst the marshals of the nobility of every government, some of whom were in Tartar costumes, the mayors or *golova* of the principal towns, the university of Moscow, the elders of the corporations of merchants, a deputation of the warriors of the Don conducted by their hetman, functionaries of every administration, and officers of every rank, completed the procession, of which only a part could find room in the church, the others merely passing through it, and immediately issuing forth by the northern door.

The clergy advanced to meet the monarch as far as the entrance porch.† At their head was the venerable Seraphim, arrayed entirely in gold; his beard, as white as snow, descended upon his breast, which, like his mitre, sparkled with jewels. Over his rich *chasuble* he wore the episcopal stole,‡ and from his neck was suspended a medallion of great value.§ The cross, which he held in his hand, was remarkable as an object of art, and valuable on account of the jewels

* This was old Prince Joussoupoff, as we have before stated.

† *Na paperth.*

‡ In Russia, *omofore*, from the Greek, ὠμοφόριον. The priest's stole is called *épitrakhil*, from ἐπιτραχήλιον.

§ A medallion in enamel representing an image of a saint, and for the most part enriched with jewels. This medallion or *panagie*, a distinctive ornament of bishops, is worn on a gold chain.

with which it was inlaid. On his right stood the most learned of all the Russian priests, Eugene, the metropolitan of Kief, and the second in rank among the members of the holy synod; he was dressed no less richly than the former, and bore the vessel full of lustral water.* On the left of Seraphim, stood Archbishop Philaretes, the first pastor of the diocese, an eloquent, learned, and enlightened priest whom his independent character rendered worthy of occupying the pulpit formerly dignified by St. Philip and other courageous prelates. Philaretes, the successor of Augustin, was then in the prime of life; his long black hair and majestic beard set off to advantage his dignified features, beaming with evangelical benevolence. He was already invested with the archiepiscopal dignity of Moscow and Kolomna, and was, on that very day, to be honoured with the title of metropolitan, which the emperor confers, at will, on the most eminent members of the holy synod.

Seraphim presented the "vivifying cross" to the monarch and his august consort, who, after touching it devoutly with her lips, kissed also the hands of the venerable pontiff. The metropolitan of Kief sprinkled holy water on the ground where they were about to place their feet, and the Archbishop of Moscow, raising his firm and sonorous voice, complimented the czar in a short speech, of which we will translate the principal passages.†

* Lustral water had been sprinkled along the platform; and the metropolitan watered the pavement in the same way before the feet of the monarch.

† We will translate it as literally as possible, in order that these words, and others that we shall copy, may lose no part of their peculiar character.

"Most pious emperor,—

"At length the expectation of Russia is fulfilled; for thou art arrived at the gates of the sanctuary to which the deposit of the hereditary consecration has been intrusted for ages.

"Perhaps the impatience of a faithful and submissive people would venture to inquire: Why hast thou delayed so long? if we did not know that even as thy present solemn coming is a source of joy to us, so also has the delay, continued to the present day, been a benefit. Thou didst not hasten to manifest thy glory to us, because thy great desire was first to provide for our security. But now thou dost advance towards these holy places, czar of an empire which thou possessest not only by right of inheritance, but which is thine because thou hast saved it.

"Ought these words to recall painful thoughts to thy mind? No, let it not be so. If the meekness of David could not preserve him from Joab and Shimei, must we be surprised if such men rebelled against the sanctified Alexander? That accursed race pestered the reign of David, but it was given to his successor to purge the land of Israel. And was not the part of Solomon in store for Alexander's successor! The difficulties which beset him in the beginning, only served to shew to the people more clearly what a benefit God had bestowed on them in Solomon.

"May nothing, therefore, trouble thy holy joy and our own.

"Enter, O lord, our emperor, thou whom God has elected, and to whom He has allotted this inheritance. In adorning thyself with the symbols of majesty, invest

thyself also with the characters of true grandeur; and may the holy unction impress upon it the stamp of consecration, both inwardly and visibly,—that consecration which is durable and everlasting."

Advancing into the temple, where the chanting of psalms* immediately began, the emperor and the empress went up to the holy doors of the iconostase, bowed thrice before the holy of holies, and kissed the picture of the Saviour on the right, and that of the Virgin of Vladimir on the left. Then they ascended the stairs which led from the steps of the sanctuary to the top of the platform, where the two thrones were placed beneath a rich canopy. That of the empress-mother was a little further to the right beneath another canopy, and, close by, a small but richly decorated gallery was occupied by the princes and princesses.

The Cathedral of the Assumption does not deserve the appellation of a fine temple any more than the other churches of the Kremlin. Its exterior is simple and plain, without any definable style of architecture; we should call it almost insignificant, were it not for the roof with its five rather elegant cupolas covered with sheet-iron richly gilt. Fioravanti, named Aristotele, had built this edifice on the model of the cathedral of Vladimir in 1475. Its interior is a long rectangle, augmented on the eastern side, where the holy of holies is situated, by a few tambour projections. Four columns or pillars, the enormous quadrangular bases of which encumber the middle of the

* *Milosth i soud vospoïou tébé. Gospodi !* That is to say, *Clementiam et judicium cantabo tibi, Domine !*

nave, support, with two others, concealed by the iconostase, the elevated vaulted roof diversified by five cupolas, on the summit of which are perceived figures of Jesus Christ. The faint light which gleams down from those cupolas is augmented by the still more scanty rays admitted through narrow windows at the top of the walls. The latter, like the pillars, are covered with colossal paintings in *fresco*, on a gold ground; they comprise more than 2,000 figures, which are mostly isolated, but others, forming a vast picture, represent the day of judgement. In front of the holy of holies rises the iconostase, the lower parts of which are of silver gilt. On the left of the czarian or regal doors is that *palladium* of Russia, of which we have spoken, the picture of the Virgin of Ephesus, painted, according to tradition, by St. Luke, and brought, says the same authority, from Constantinople by the grand-duke Jowrii Dolgorouki, in the twelfth century. The emperor Emmanuel Comnenus* and the œcumenical patriarch had given it as a present to the Princess Eudoxia. This precious picture, after having been preserved at first in southern Russia, was transferred, in 1154, to Vladimir on the Kliazma, where a cathedral was built to receive it. But, on the approach of Tamerlane, about the year 1400, the city of Moscow was filled with consternation; not knowing how to save themselves from that calamity, the inhabitants implored the succour of the queen of the angels, and the Grand-Prince Vassili Dimitrievitch sent to Vladimir to bring away the holy relic. The whole population of this town wept on beholding themselves deprived of it;

* Monk in 1180.

they accompanied it on its departure, and could hardly be induced to separate from it. The Muscovites, on the other hand, received the madonna with transports of joy; they ran forth to meet her, fell on their faces before her, and kissed the ground over which she had passed. "Mother of God! Mother of God!" cried they, "save Russia." On the very day when St. Luke's work was deposited at the Kremlin, in the first cathedral Ouspenski, founded in 1326 by Archbishop St. Peter, Timour, turning away from the road to Moscow, commenced his retreat. An invisible power had prevented him from passing beyond. Since then there has been an abundance of miracles; as we have seen, everything about the picture was consumed by fire, but the picture itself remained uninjured. This painting, blackened by age, is covered all around with an incredible profusion of riches.

On the right of the holy doors is a large picture, likewise reputed miraculous: it represents the Saviour, seated upon a throne, and holding the Gospel in his hand. The same Emperor Emmanuel had made a present of it to Novogorod, where this painting had remained, in the cathedral of St. Sophia, till 1570.

Objects of great value are preserved in the sanctuary; the most precious of all are a piece and a nail of the true cross, a fragment of the stone rolled against the sepulchre, the Saviour's robe, brought from the East during the patriarchship of Philaretes, and, finally, relics of Mary Magdalen. On each side of the iconostase, are still seen the two thrones which were formerly occupied by the czar and the head of the clergy: the latter is made of stone; the former, of carved wood,

is decayed by time and falling to pieces. It is said that Vladimir II. surnamed Monomachus, had sat upon it. On the side of the northern door is the silver shrine of the saintly Archbishop Peter, who was the first that quitted Vladimir to fix his see at Moscow; by his side repose other saints or heads of the church, and the coffins of the patriarchs and their successors ornament, with their long row, the walls of the sacred enclosure.

Although, on the accession of a new grand prince or czar, a ceremony of inauguration had been celebrated from time immemorial, the custom of crowning him does not appear to date much further back than the sixteenth century; and previous to 1547, the insignia of royalty, the crown, the breast-cross, in which a fragment of the Saviour's cross was enshrined, and the holy *barms*,* were preserved in the Cathedral of the Annunciation. They were transferred to that of the Assumption for the coronation of Joann IV. Vassiliévitch; and, since that time, this church has remained

* Among the regal ornaments of Constantine Monomachus (who died in 1054), which the emperor Alexis Comnenus sent to the Grand-Prince Vladimir II. Vsevolodovitch, in 1116, was a *camail*, or collar, in gold brocade and silver, loaded with pearls and jewels, and adorned with enamel of costly workmanship, on which were represented scenes taken from sacred history. This collar, which the czars, especially on the day of coronation, put over the purple, was called in Russian, *barmy*, from the Greek word, *βάρημα*, which means a load, a burden, and doubtless was an emblem of the weight of care imposed on royalty. These barms, venerable for their antiquity, consecrated by the Church, and preserved in one of the principal cathedrals, were termed holy. In French, this word has sometimes been rendered by *dalmatique*, from a regal and pontifical garment thus named, and which, first worn long like a mantle, assumed, by degrees, the narrower proportions of a collar.

in possession of the privilege of performing the service in the ceremony.*

At the moment when we paused to enter into these details, the temple presented an imposing spectacle. A numerous body of clergy, covered with gold and divers ornaments, were surrounding the altar or drawn up on either side of the open holy doors; about six hundred persons, the men distinguished by their costumes and the ensigns of their dignities, the women, resplendent with jewels, thronged about a high estrade covered with scarlet velvet, with gold-lace and fringe, and surrounded by a balustrade which glowed with the same metal.† No vacant space could be seen in that crowded nave; and above the heads of the spectators hovered the colossal figures in *fresco*. The space around the *ambon*‡ and all the middle of the church were taken up by the estrade, supported by the bases

* Foëdor Joannovitch, his son, was also solemnly crowned, and the *ceremonial* then adopted seems to be the one that still serves as a model. For the coronation of Joann and Peter Alexéïevitch, see "Sanct Petersburgisches Journal," 1779, t. vii. p. 43, *et seq.* A few details on ancient customs are to be found in the "Chronique de Nestor," by M. Louis Paris, t. ii., "Table des Origines," p. 64.

† "If the proportions of our (French) cathedrals, and the pomp of our religious ceremonies allow a more majestic development to be given to the coronation of our kings, it nevertheless does not afford this diversity of costumes, faces, and expressions, the picturesque effect of which will be for ever engraven upon my memory."—Ancelot, "Six Mois en Russie," p. 350.

‡ The *ambon* is a kind of pulpit or rostrum, where the priest ascends to preach, and where the ceremony of the coronation was likewise celebrated. In the Greek church, the *grand ambon*, or episcopal ambon, is in the middle of the cathedral, and represents the stone of the sepulchre; the *small ambon*, or deacon's ambon, is in front of the holy doors. The priest ascends it to read the Gospel and to preach, that is to say, to read a sermon.

of the four pillars; there, Nicholas Paulovitch was seated upon a throne, called *the throne of diamonds*, which the Armenians of Ispahan had formerly offered as a present to the Czar Alexis Mikhaïlovitch: it is adorned with a profusion of fine pearls and precious stones. On his right was seated the empress, of whom it has somewhere been said that God had given her to Nicholas in order that his subjects might learn to seek an example of domestic virtues where they had found the supreme model of their duties towards the state. Alexandra's throne was of gold, and inlaid with 1,500 rubies and 8,000 turquoises and fine pearls: it had been used by Mikhaïl Foëdorovitch,* the first of the Romanoffs. The two seats, raised one step higher on the platform of the estrade, were surmounted by an ample canopy, the scarlet ground of which was not to be seen under the profusion of gold embroidery. The top was ornamented with large bunches of white feathers; and the inside embroidered with the imperial eagle, surrounded by the escutcheons of Kief, Vladimir, Kasan, Astrakhan, Siberia, and Tauris. Close by the thrones were the imperial insignia displayed upon a table; and behind the two thrones, the court and a select number of generals formed picturesque groups. Twelve steps, interrupted by two platforms, led from the top of the estrade to the czarian doors. There stood the supreme marshal and the marshals of the coronation, the masters of the ceremonies and other dignitaries, the heralds-at-arms occupying the lower steps. Their Gothic costume, surcharged with details,

* The throne on which the empress-mother was seated was also very valuable. It was a gift from Schah Abbas, in 1605, to Boris Godounoff.

which our serious age considers puerile, formed a strong contrast with the monotony of the uniforms and the symmetrical cut of the court dresses. From this point to the holy doors, beneath the enormous chandelier of solid silver suspended before the iconostase, the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and archmandrits, were standing in rows on either side. By the magnificence of their apparel, their thick beards hanging down upon their breasts, and the precious mitres which adorned their brows, some of them reminded the spectator of the old kings of the east, others of the most ancient pontiffs of Italy, such as St. Ambrosius and St. Leo. Lastly, on the top of the estrade, at the right and the left of the thrones, officers of the chevalier-guards, with their swords drawn, added to all this display of imperial majesty the idea of the power of the sword, and the security found under its protection.

The most perfect order reigned throughout that immense assemblage, and the lofty vaulted roof of the church, terminated by the broad cupola in the middle, alone left free space for the sonorous vibrations of those harmonious voices which soon mingled with the solemn and contrite accents of the *Gospodi pomiloui*, the sweet expression of the heavenly joys and raptures of the *Hallelujah.*

The clergy were concluding the chanting of the psalms.* When it was ended, and perfect silence pervaded the temple, Seraphim advanced towards the steps of the throne, and said :

* The reader will allow us to insert here an extract of the ritual of coronation, translated from the Russian or Sclavonic language of the Church. We believe it to be the first time it has appeared in any French work.

"Most pious and great lord, our Emperor and Autocrat of all Russia! *

"Since, according to the will of God, by the efficacy of the Holy Ghost, and by virtue of your command, the coronation of your imperial majesty and the anointing with the holy oil† is now to be performed in this temple of the first capital, does it please your majesty to make a profession, in presence of your faithful subjects, of the catholic orthodox faith,‡ which is your belief, conformably to the custom of ancient Christian monarchs and your predecessors glorified by God?"

At the same time, the old man presented the Apostle's Creed to the czar, who read it aloud, and, after thus reading, he said to him: "May the grace of the Holy Ghost be with thee, amen!"

A moment after, the voice of the proto-deacon was heard, reminding the officiating pontiff, according to ancient custom, of the order of the holy proceeding, saying, "Lord, give thy benediction." Then the metropolitan gave the blessing in these words: "Blessed be the empire, &c.," the clergy responded, "Amen," and the singers chanted the hymn, "*To the King of heaven.*"§

Then the proto-deacon continued: "Let us pray

* We prefer this translation to that of *all the Russias*, and have given our reasons in a note in vol. i.

† *Svétoïé myro.*

‡ The three great divisions of Christendom, the Roman Church, the Greek Church, and the Protestant Church pretend equally to the title of *Catholic*: they all believe themselves called to become universal. (The Protestant Church claims to be, not *the* Catholic Church, but a portion of the Catholic or Universal Church of Christ.—Translator.)

§ *Tsarou nébesnyi.*

to God to give us His peace;" which words were succeeded by a long litany,* followed by the chant, "*Lord God, Thou declarest Thyself also to us,*" which was given out by the proto-deacon, and afterwards sung by the clergy. This singing was followed by lessons, concluding with the gospel.

Then the emperor ordered the imperial ornaments to be brought. The first pastor, assisted by the metropolitan of Kief and the archbishop of Moscow, took the purple from the golden table, where it was lying on a cushion, surrounded with the crowns and the sceptre, and presented it to the monarch, saying: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, amen!"

Prayers, intermingled with the *Gospodi pomiloui,* were immediately recited.

When the czar, with the help of his assistants, had clothed himself with the imperial mantle, he remained standing and bowed his head before the pontiff. The latter touched it with the cross, placed his hand upon it, and uttered a prayer. "May peace be with you all,"† added he afterwards, and the choir responded, "And with thy spirit." After these words everybody knelt down, and Seraphim prayed once more aloud for the safety of the czar.

At that moment the latter ordered the crown to

* It is called in Russian, *ekténié*, extended, that is to say fervent prayer. The response, or *réfrain*, is always *pomolimsa*, we pray. Prayers were said particularly for the peace of the world, and the prosperity of the holy churches, for the holy temple (*khram*) where they then were, and for the faith, for the directing of the holy synod, for the emperor, the empress, &c.

† *Mir vsem.*

be brought to him; and, on receiving it from the hands of the metropolitan, he placed it upon his head, and the old man blessed it. After an instant he raised his voice, and pronounced the following speech:

"Most pious and most potent* autocrat, Emperor of all Russia!

"This visible and outward ornament which adorns thy brow is the symbol of the mysterious act by which Jesus Christ, the King of glory† crowns thee at this moment, thee the chief of the people of all Russia, by means of His holy blessing, confirming thee in thy absolute ‡ and supreme authority over thy subjects."§

He then placed in his right hand the sceptre, and in his left the globe,‖ and, having blessed him, he continued:

"O thou crowned of God, thou whom He has favoured with His gifts, and adorned with His grace, most potent autocrat, Emperor of all Russia, receive the sceptre and the globe: they are the symbols of the supreme power which the Most High has given thee over thy people, to govern them and to secure for them every desirable happiness."

These emblems of power thus committed to him, the czar sat upon his throne. Presently he laid the sceptre and the globe upon cushions presented to him

* *Samoderjavneïchü*, which means possessing all power in himself and by his own right.

† *Tsar slavy.* ‡ *Priderjaschtchü.* § *Nad ludmi svoïmi.*

‖ There is still preserved in the armoury palace (*Oroujeïnaïa Palata*) of Moscow the globe (*derjava*) which the Greek Emperor Alexis Comnenus gave as a present to the Grand-Prince Vladimir II. Monomachus, in 1116.

by high functionaries, and beckoned to the empress to approach. Alexandra Foëdorovna knelt down before him. The emperor, taking the crown from his head, held it upon the brow of his spouse, and then replaced it upon his own. The small crown intended for the empress was then brought; the emperor placed it upon her head, and the ladies of honour* drew near to fasten it there. Alexandra was next arrayed with the imperial mantle and the collar of St. Andrew.

When the august couple, thus adorned with the ensigns of sovereign dignity, had retaken their places upon their thrones, the proto-deacon, proclaiming the imperial title in full, gave out the *Domine, salvum fàc imperatorem*,† which was sung by a double choir, and was repeated for the empress. Then the coronation was ended. The great bell of Ivân Véliki, which is rung only thrice a year, gave the signal to all the other bells in the town, the vibrating sounds of which arrived from all quarters to the heights of the Kremlin: "One would have thought," according to an official expression, "that the great voice of the nation was raising afar a concert of prayers and homage to heaven." At the same instant the roar of 101 cannons thundered from the Red Market, outside the citadel; and the people responded with their *hourra*.

Whilst the singing continued, the emperor and the empress received the homage and congratulations of the princes and princesses of their family, the high clergy,

* They were as follow:—the lady of Field-Marshal Kamenski, the Princess Lapoukhin, the Princess Voldemar Galitsin Gleboff, and the Countess Orloff Tchesmenski.

† *Sokhrani iévo na mnoga lèta*, prolong his life many years.

and the principal personages of their court. The august mother of the czar was the first who would have approached; but he prevented her, and, hastening forwards, he embraced her, and received her blessing. Maria concealed her tears on the breast of her son. She was, doubtless, thinking of the coronation of that other son, so fondly loved, of whom death had bereaved her. Then also, overcome by her emotion, she had cast herself, almost fainting, into the arms of the crowned monarch. Nicholas well comprehended the grief of her heart, and sympathised with it. It excited also the sympathy of all the congregation. But a scene perhaps still more affecting soon excited the attention of all, and raised their emotion to enthusiasm. Hardly had the empress-mother torn herself from her son's embrace, when Constantine was seen bending the knee before him, before that younger brother who had replaced him on a throne to which, by birth, he himself had been called. Nicholas immediately fell upon his neck, and leaning, like him, towards the ground, he embraced him, pressed him to his heart, and forgot for a moment his part as a crowned king to obey the impulse of nature. The august mother of the princes returned and blessed them. No one among the numerous spectators could behold that affecting scene unmoved. Constantine was crowning the glorious act of abnegation, the effects of which we have already made known: he was humbling himself in presence of all before a throne which he might have ascended, and did so with fervour and enthusiasm, in a way that removed every doubt as to his candid and free determination. This was the most striking scene in all that imposing

drama; compared with it, all the rest was formal and languid.

Meanwhile, the Grand-Duke Michael, Helena Paulovna, his consort, a queen in loveliness, the youthful heir to the throne, and the foreign princes, went successively to present their congratulations; and the clergy, without leaving their places, bowed low three times before the consecrated couple.

The cannons had ceased to roar, the bells no longer resounded under the blows of their ponderous clappers, and the chanting of *Mnogàïa lèta** was dying away under the vaulted cupola. The metropolitan of Novogorod then, beginning the ceremony of the anointing, presented a missal to the monarch; the latter arose, laid aside the sceptre and the globe, bent his knees, and read the following prayer:—

"O Lord God of our fathers, King of kings, Thou who didst create everything by Thy word, Thou whose wisdom enlightens man, and who dost govern the world according to holiness and justice, Thou hast chosen me to be the czar and arbiter of the most illustrious empire of all Russia. I acknowledge Thy impenetrable designs towards me, and I offer up my thanks unto Thee, thus prostrate before Thy Majesty. O Lord, my Master,† enable me to fulfil the mission which Thou hast intrusted to me, and enlighten and guide me in the performance of this great task. May the wisdom which emanates from Thy throne be ever with me; send me the assistance of Thy saints from heaven, that I may learn what is agreeable in Thy sight and just according to Thy commandments. May

* *I.e., per plurimos annos.* † *Vladyko i gospodi moï.*

my heart be in Thy hand, that it may inspire me with nothing that is not for Thy glory and the advantage of the people intrusted to my care; and may I, in Thy day of judgment, fearlessly render Thee an account, through the grace and merits of Thy only Son! With whom, and Thy most holy, good, and vivifying Spirit, be hallowed for ever and ever. Amen."

Then the metropolitan replied, "May peace be with you all!" and the choir responded, "And with thy spirit." The voice of the proto-deacon was then heard, "Once more, once more, let us kneel and pray to the Lord!"

The pontiff then knelt to offer up a prayer in the name of all the people, and the whole congregation followed his example. When he arose, he turned towards the emperor, and pronounced a speech.* Then the *Te Deum* † was sung, accompanied with the ringing of all the bells.

The time had now come to celebrate the holy liturgy.‡ The emperor removed the crown from his head, and handed it to the officers in waiting. After the reading of the Gospel, the sacred volume was offered to the august couple to kiss. Next, a crimson velvet carpet embroidered with gold, and covered with

* This speech is too long to be copied here. It much resembles, especially in the beginning, that which the eloquent metropolitan Plato pronounced, on the 15th of September, 1801, after the coronation of the Emperor Alexander, a ceremony from which the coronation of the Emperor Nicholas seems to have been copied in every particular.

† *Tébé Boga khvalim.*

‡ *Bogestvennaïa litourghia*, which is, as we have stated, equivalent to the holy mass among Roman Catholics.

another of gold brocade, was laid down from the foot-stool of the throne as far as the holy doors, for the passage of their imperial majesties.

The canon of the mass was sung;* and the metropolitans, archbishops, and the other priests were taking the communion in the sanctuary. Soon the doors were opened, and two mitred prelates† quitted the altar, followed by proto-deacons, to announce to the czar that the ceremony of anointing‡ was about to commence.

He descended in grand procession the steps of the throne, followed by the empress, and placed himself opposite the open holy doors, the threshold of which it was lawful for him alone to cross, by virtue of his supreme dignity.§ The metropolitan of Novogorod took the precious vase containing the holy chrism, and dipped into it a golden branch with which he touched the brow, the eyelids, the nostril, the lips, and the ears of the czar, as also the palm and the upper part of his hands, saying, "This is the mark of the gift of the Holy Ghost.‖" The metropolitan of Kief then approached and wiped away the marks of the sacred oil.¶ Again the tolling of the bells was renewed, and again

* *Kinonik.*

† *Arkhiéréïa.*

‡ *Tsarskoïé myropomasanié.*

§ The emperor has not this privilege till after he has received the sacred unction. Even females, when invested with the sovereign power, appear to enjoy it on this occasion. Accordingly, we read in the coronation ceremonial of Catherine II., that she entered *alone* the holy of holies. She received the communion, *iz potira,* in the chalice.

‖ *Pétchath dara poukha svétago.*

¶ Formerly, it was not lawful for the prince to wash the parts anointed with the sacred oil before seven days.

101 cannons fired a salute. Escorted by the first pastor, the monarch then entered the Holy of holies by the royal doors, and placed himself by the sacred table * on a carpet of gold. Assisted by the metropolitan and by Eugene and Philaretes, who supported the weight of the imperial mantle, he bowed before the altar, and partook of the "holy mystery of the body and blood of Jesus Christ." According to his privilege as czar,† he received the communion in both kinds, "the body and the blood separately." Then a bishop handed to him the antidoron ‡ and the wine; and another the linen to wipe his lips and hands.§ The monarch afterwards returned to his throne, preceded by his *cortége*, the dignitaries of his court bearing before him the attributes of royalty. The empress, standing without the czarian doors, received in her turn the holy unction, but only on the forehead, and the communion in the ordinary manner. Bishops presented to her the consecrated bread and the tepid water; after which she returned to her place with the same pomp.

* *Svétaïa trapéza.*

† *Potchinou tsarskomou.* It is the manner in which the priests take the communion.

‡ The *antidoron* is what remains, after the communion, of the consecrated bread, of which only a part called the *lamb* is used in the sacrament. This part, stamped with the name of Jesus, is cut out of loaves, on a particular table placed in the sanctuary and called *prothèse.* The remains of the bread, distributed among the faithful after mass, is to remind them of the *agapæ* (love-feasts) of the primitive Christians. The antidoron was anciently included in the denomination of *eulogies.*

§ Relatively to the emperor, the ceremonial uses the word *oumovénié,* ablution; for the empress, it mentions besides the *téplota,* or tepid water poured into the cup; but we believe the custom of wiping the lips and hands was observed on this occasion, as it is performed for all the faithful in the communion.

The emperor adorned himself again with all his insignia.

When the thanksgivings had been offered up by a high priest,* the holy liturgy was ended; Seraphim gave the benediction with the cross, and a proto-deacon gave out the *Vivat*, which was re-echoed on all sides: "O Lord," cried he, "grant a happy and peaceful life, health of body and salvation of soul, Thy good help in all things, success and victory over the wicked, to our orthodox, most glorious, and most Christian monarch,† our great lord, crowned, raised to the supreme rank,‡ and anointed with holy oil, Nicholas Paulovitch, the Emperor and Autocrat of all Russia; and to his orthodox and most glorious spouse, the Empress Alexandra Foëdorovna, crowned, raised to supreme rank, and anointed with holy oil; and preserve them both for many years." And the choir repeated the final invocation by chanting *Mnogaïa lèta.*

Whilst these last and delightfully harmonious accents were ascending towards the sky, the clergy, the court, and all the persons of the *cortége* passed in front of the throne and bowed; and the ceremony being ended, the metropolitan went and presented to the monarch and his consort the vivifying cross, which they kissed.

It was noon when the procession, after having formed again behind the cathedral, re-appeared in the exterior enclosure, amid the ringing of bells and the roaring of cannon. The emperor had gone forth from the temple by the northern door. All eyes were turned in that direction; and the multitude, impatient to contemplate

* *Protohiéreï.* † *Khristoloubioü*, loving Christ.

‡ *Prévoznécennü.*

the anointed of the Lord in the full array of majesty, could pay no longer any attention to the procession that preceded him. But when the deputations of the Cossacks and Tartars, together with the marshals of the nobility of every government, had once more filed before them, and the imperial canopy at length was visible, the whole mass became animated, and enthusiastic shouts burst forth from the delighted multitude. The emperor was walking in front of his canopy. His grand uniform of Russian general was covered with the imperial mantle; his head was adorned with the crown, and in his hands he bore the sceptre and the globe. All these symbols were thickly inlaid with precious stones. The crown, tastefully composed of the finest diamonds set with large fine pearls, reminded the spectator, by its shape, of the cap of Alexander Nevski, preserved in the treasury of the monastery of that name at St. Petersburg;* its brilliant diamonds sparkled in the sun, which, then in its meridian glory, shed an extraordinary splendour on the whole person of the monarch, and surrounded his head with a glowing halo. It was a wonderful sight; and far from being eclipsed by the splendour of these ornaments, the masculine beauty of Nicholas was even increased by it.

Constantine was walking with a grave and respectful air on his right, and Michael on his left. We are told that the cæsarovitch, struck with the clearness of the sky and the brilliant sunshine which enlivened the procession, exclaimed, "Brother, what a beautiful day!

* The ancient grand-princes wore not a crown but a round cap (*rolbok*), ornamented with pearls and precious stones. The crown of the czars, on the contrary, was of a conical shape.

—not a cloud to be seen!" "Why, what had I to fear?" returned Nicholas; "had I not my *conductor* by my side?" This gracious reply, dictated by the heart, was a delightful recompense to Constantine for his noble conduct.*

The empress was beneath the canopy, richly adorned with purple, and wearing a small crown of brilliants in her hair.

According to the custom of the ancient czars to halt after the coronation in the different sanctuaries of the Kremlin,† they then repaired to the cathedral of the Archangel, where the emperor, after kissing the images of an iconostase not less rich than that of Ouspenski Sabor, bowed before the long row of sarcophagi containing the remains of his ancestors or predecessors, and before the miraculous shrine of St. Dimitri, the youthful son of Joann IV. Vassilievitch, the last scion of the dynasty of Rurik, who perished at Ouglitch by the daggers of assassins. A proto-deacon read a prayer for the long life of the monarch, and the choir chanted *Mnogaïa lèta.* The same ceremony and the same chants were repeated in the cathedral of the Annunciation, where the emperor, attended by the clergy, having at their head a bishop who presented him the cross to kiss, went to bow to the holy relics.‡ This small temple, encumbered with rich offerings, is protected by a *pronaos* or gallery which encloses it on two sides: the procession stopped there, and only a

* Constantine departed on the 5th of September for Warsaw, where he arrived on the 11th.

† On such occasions a *protopope* used formerly to sprinkle gold dust on the head of the czar.

‡ *Moschtchi,* bodies of saints.

few persons could follow the emperor into the interior, which is lighted by a faint uncertain light descending from the cupola, around which eight other small domes adorn the roof. The iconostase is of silver gilt, and the pavement inlaid with agate; all the walls are covered with old fresco paintings blackened by age; and the throne of the czars still indicates the place where the ancient sovereigns sat during divine service. Fresco paintings abound also in the galleries of the vestibule; and on the outer wall facing the Red Staircase is an old painting under cover, representing the Virgin Mary sitting near a well and receiving the salutation of the angel.

A few minutes afterwards Nicholas reappeared at the entrance, ascended the Red Stairs, and withdrew to his apartments. The different stations had been visited, or there remained at most but one, intended for another day, on account of the distance. It was the visit to the relics of St. Sergius, the thaumaturgus,—the pilgrimage to Troïtza, that sacred *laura* so celebrated in the history of Muscovy,* and which every prince has enriched with his gifts.

On the very day of consecration, the ancient czars used to give, in the Granovitaïa Palata adjoining the Red Stairs, a grand feast to the patriarchs and the

* This pilgrimage took place on the 25th of September. Philaretes received the emperor at Troïtza, who accepted, for one night, the hospitality of the monks. At that period, the archmandrid of the convent was the reverend Father Eulampus (*Jevlampii*), a learned, amiable and pious man. His long hair parted on his forehead and his rich auburn beard reminded the beholder of the finest portraits of the Saviour. We shall ever remember with the greatest pleasure the hours we spent with this dignitary in the library of his convent.

other principal members of the clergy, as also to the most important lords of their court. Nicholas conformed to this custom. The old banqueting hall was sumptuously adorned; the crimson velvet of its hanging was resplendent with gold; and around the enormous pillar which, situated in the middle, supports the ogive arches of the roof, was displayed the rich plate of the czars, covered with embossed figures, which is usually preserved in the Oroujeïnaïa Palata. In one of the angles was the throne, surmounted with a canopy, the interior of which was ornamented with the imperial eagle; on each side was a small throne, one for the reigning empress and the other for the mother of the emperor; several tables were also spread for personages of the first two classes and the council of the empire. In the angle opposite to the throne stood the orchestra; while the *corps diplomatique* were waiting to offer their congratulations to the emperor, and afterwards to withdraw.

Before entering the hall, the monarch shewed himself to his people from the steps, and was saluted with deafening acclamations. Afterwards, he received the felicitations of the clergy, the court, and the representatives of the sovereigns of Europe, and went and sat upon his throne alone at the imperial table with the two empresses. They were attended by the highest dignitaries of the crown: the grand-marshal, the grand-huntsman, the grand-cup-bearer, and the imperial carver, were all at their posts, according to the ancient ceremonial. General aides-de-camp brought in the dishes, escorted by officers of the guards sword in hand, and presented them bending the knee. The feast was

blessed by the metropolitan, and the spectators remained standing. But when the emperor had asked to drink, they were permitted to sit down. After they had all bowed, they took their places at the tables prepared for them, those belonging to the first two classes in the same banqueting-room, and the others in an adjoining hall, where the Grand-Duchess Helena and the princes presided over the feast. Coronation medals, presented to the emperor by the minister of the finances, were then distributed, as handfuls of common ones had already been flung among the people. The orchestra filled the old palace with its harmonious strains, instrumental music, and melodious voices alternately vying with each other.

Thus ended that day, and when night had come, a splendid illumination, repeated on the two following days, set the whole town in a blaze of light, and kept up the noisy festivities of the population. The white walls of the Kremlin, adorned with stars and luminous festoons, the towers by which they are surmounted displaying their varied contours by rows of fire, the garden in the English style, with its trees and fountains all illuminated, the immense hall of exercise covered all over with lamps, and, lastly, Ivân Véliki, with its brilliant cross resting upon a fiery crown, fashioned like the monarch's, and which was decked out at every story with red, blue, and yellow, the colours of the empire; all this had a magical, startling, and novel effect, and acted so powerfully upon the imagination of the multitude, that they seemed to be intoxicated by it, and set no bounds to their clownish vivacity.

The coronation day was moreover illustrated by

numberless acts of favour, munificence, and clemency. The emperor conferred the staff of field-marshal on Generals Count de Wittgenstein and Osten-Sacken; he raised the Archbishop of Moscow to the rank of metropolitan, conferred the title of princess on the Countess de Lieven, and that of count on several ambassadors, high functionaries, or generals. Some were created chevaliers of St. Andrew;* others, in greater number, knights grand-cross of St. Vladimir, St. Alexander Nevski, or St. Anne. A munificent donation of lands was made in favour of a select few, in the first rank of whom was Count Nesselrode; and portrait medallions, boxes and rings set with diamonds, were likewise distributed. Every kind of recompense was practised on a very large scale, of which the people about the court received an ample share. The army especially was not forgotten: in the lower ranks, cloth for uniforms was ordered to be distributed among the soldiers, and high pay was likewise granted; all the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had served honourably for twenty years in the guard, or for twenty-two in the army and garrison, were to obtain their discharge. A vast plan of promotion was carried out in favour of the officers, and several hundred generals† and colonels were promoted to a superior rank. A second plan of promotion concerned the civil service. All the titular councillors or *employés* of the ninth class of the *tchinn*,

* Among them was Count de la Ferronnays, the French ambassador.

† Among the lieutenants-general promoted to the grade of general-in-chief, were the general aides-de-camp, Baron de Diebitsch, Prince Chakhofskoï, Dépréradovitch, Golénitchef-Koutousoff, Prince Troubetzkoï, Count Orloff-Deniçof, Paskévitch, Baron de Toll, and Baron Jomini.

all the college councillors or functionaries of the sixth class, who had enjoyed that grade for the requisite period, were promoted *en masse* to the upper class, and exempted from the examination prescribed by the ukase of the 6th of August, 1809. Certain sums owing to the state, unpaid taxes, and penalties incurred, were remitted;* a very extensive amnesty was granted to numerous classes of prisoners awaiting their sentence; many of the condemned were reprieved from punishment, and the effects of the imperial clemency reached also those culprits of the great political trial, the history of which we have traced. The sentence awarded to them by the emperor was mitigated by a final and definitive commutation.

Lastly, on the same day was also published a manifesto, signed as early as February 9th (January 28th), 1826, by virtue of which the emperor, warned by the sanguinary catastrophe he had witnessed, wished to provide against all similar casualties in future. Confirming the order of succession then in force, Nicholas, "with the approbation" of his mother and the grand-duke Constantine, declared by this act that, in case it should please God to call him to Himself before the

* "In granting the exemptions, immunities, and favours here detailed," says the manifesto, "we follow with pleasure the impulse of our heart. May they be a guarantee of our constant solicitude for our faithful subjects! May justice and impartiality reign in the tribunals; order and disinterestedness in the territorial and municipal administrations, and freedom in trade: may industry acquire twofold emulation, and agriculture activity; may honesty be the guarantee of engagements; may the inviolability of property be respected; but, above all, may the fear of God and a solid and patriotic education of youth be the basis of all hopes of improvement, and the first duty of every class."—See "Journal de Saint Petersbourg," 1826, No. 106.

legal majority of his heir, the grand-duke Alexander Nikolaïévitch,* the regency of the empire, as also of the kingdom of Poland, and the grand principality of Finland, "which are inseparable from it," should belong to the Grand-Duke Michael. If it should please God, after the decease of the emperor, to call also his successor before he had attained his majority, the crown was to pass by right to the second son, should there be one,† and the same grand-duke was still to be regent. Lastly, if there should not exist any son of the emperor, but his spouse should be *enceinte*, the regency should be the same till the moment the empress was delivered. If then a son were born, the crown would belong to him by right, and the Grand-Duke Michael was still to be regent till the majority of the young prince; but should a grand-duchess be born, the crown was to devolve immediately on the head of the regent. The guardianship of all the children of the Emperor Nicholas was intrusted to the Empress Alexandra Foëdorovna.

This most provident act has not been applied: the czar still enjoys all the vigour of a powerful constitution, and around his throne are already grouped two generations of princes of the greatest promise. But this act was called for by circumstances; it contributed to restore confidence, which the cannon that was thundering on the south-eastern frontier had not the power to disturb for a single moment.

* According to the pragmatic sanction of the 16th (5th) of April, 1797, the age of majority for the heir to the throne, is sixteen years: the Grand-Duke Alexander, born in 1818, attained it in 1834. Other grand-dukes do not attain their majority till twenty.

† At that period the Grand-Duke Constantine was not born.

For fifteen days all Moscow was occupied entirely with festivities, which absorbed the city and the court; and all classes of the population were in raptures of delight, and on foot from morning till evening. The multitude used to throng about the palace, where audiences of state, continued for whole days, caused a concourse of the gayest equipages, in which an extraordinary pomp of liveries was displayed. The upper clergy, the court, the highest functionaries, the deputies of the nobility and citizens, the generals and the superior officers of the guard ascended into the palace by turn; but nothing could equal the splendour displayed at the grand reception of the diplomatic body. There, Asia met Europe, and it was forced to acknowledge on this occasion that the latter also possesses wonders of her own. A sumptuous banquet united the members of the holy synod with the first two classes of the civil service: it was like a signal given by the monarch for all the rejoicings which were to follow each other in the city for a whole month. During this period, there was nothing but a succession of balls, masquerades, theatrical representations, hunts, parades, and military evolutions; the body of the nobility, the board of trade, the corporation of citizens, a few high dignitaries, and the foreign ambassadors had the honour of feasting the emperor and his family.* The monarch himself treated, with royal profusion, the whole of the

* Moscow will long remember the entertainments given by the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Ragusa, and old Prince Joussoupoff. The ball of the Countess Orloff Tchesmenski is also not yet forgotten. A description of these *fêtes* may be seen in M. Ancelot's "Six Mois en Russie," p. 375, *et seq.*

people of Moscow, on the 28th of September, in the immense plain called Dévitché-Polé, where 240 tables, each twenty yards long, were loaded with viands, pastry, fruits, and large bowls of *quass*, the national beverage of the Russians,* and surrounded with sixteen fountains flowing with wine and beer. Around these tables, and between them, extended a whole city of ephemeral constructions, ornamented with the most fantastical and lively colours, Chinese pavilions, Turkish kiosks, outlandish theatres, mountebank shows, many a circus for riding or rope-dancing, seats and amphitheatres covered with red cloth, besides swings and Russian-mountains. The imperial pavilion, a large glazed rotunda, commanded a view of all these vast preparations; and at a short distance were raised seats for the diplomatic body. More than 100,000 men, dressed in the picturesque summer costume of the *mougik*, with their fine thick-bearded countenances, animated with eager desire, were forming an immense ring around this banqueting-hall, in the open air, ready to rush forward, and with great difficulty kept within bounds, during the tedious hours of expectation, by a long line of Cossacks armed with their *nagaïka*, and actively employed in using them. Impatience was at its utmost, when, as twelve o'clock struck, the imperial standard was hoisted on the centre pavilion: the emperor had just arrived. On horseback, surrounded by the princes, and followed by state carriages, in which

* Besides the roasted sheep, with gilt horns and silvered heads, and the poultry and other viands, there was a profusion of dainty dishes on every table, with 100 loaves of white bread (*kalatchi*) and 40 smaller loaves of brown.

were Alexandra Foëdorovna and the whole of the imperial family, Nicholas was received with a deafening *hourrà*. He rode through the long alleys which separated those tables that seemed lost in the distance, and, when he had reached his pavilion, the multitude had already begun to break into the enclosure. But as soon as he had uttered the words, "My children, all this is your own!" the crowds broke loose: they threw themselves furiously upon the tables, or rushed towards the cascades and fountains, and in less than five minutes not a vestige remained either of the latter or of the tables. The table-cloths disappeared in a twinkling, as well as the dishes; nay, the very amphitheatres were stripped of their hangings of red cloth before the spectators had quitted them. The people had taken the emperor at his word,

Several weeks had already passed since the day of coronation, yet the festivities went on increasing; but their magic illusion was exhausted by their very duration. At last, on the 4th of October, grand fireworks, followed by a final general illumination, was to denote the close of the festivities. The Grand-Duke Michael, as grand-master of the artillery, gave them at his own expense, and they were erected opposite to the establishment of the pages, the vast halls of which were filled with trophies and piles of arms. All classes of the population assembled to witness this *fête*. The earth shot forth towards the sky myriads of new stars and flaming comets; fiery suns burst forth rushing furiously round and parching the atmosphere in their rapid evolution, and the explosion of a mass of 52,000 rockets changed night into day, and filled the horizon

with the magnificent spectacle of a universal shower of fire. A moment before, a triumphal arch composed of flaming meteors had appeared before the eyes of the spectators, and upon its broad cornice they had read the following inscription:—

"*To Nicholas I. the Restorer of public Tranquillity.**"

A terrible detonation was then heard, followed by the uninterrupted silence of night. This was the last act of this long and noisy inauguration of a new reign.

This reign has been destined by Providence to undergo other trials; but, at that moment, nobody thought of troubling himself about unknown casualties. The misfortunes which had darkened the early days of the accession of Nicholas were entirely forgotten. Confidence generally restored had enabled everybody to indulge in hilarity. Eager to partake of amusements, by way of compensation for their long anxiety, the people had rushed into the vortex of pleasure. Everything had been crowned with success. The festivities and spectacles had been splendid in the extreme; and favours and recompenses had been abundantly lavished upon all ranks of society. The memory of these things would naturally be durable; that of calamities was obliterated; and such has been the silence kept ever since by the Russians relative to the events of 1825, that one is tempted at the present day to inquire whether it be indeed true that they then narrowly escaped one of the most imminent dangers to which an empire can possibly be exposed.

We have given a faithful account of all the particulars

* *Nikolaïou pervomou, ouspokoitelyou Otétchestva.*

of that crisis, adding to our narrative a description of the state of the public mind, likely to enable it to be the better understood, and to permit the sagacious reader to calculate the chances of the future destiny of a monarchy on which the attention of Europe is fixed, with less hope perhaps than apprehension. May the latter be proved, by the event, to be unfounded; and may the reign of the Emperor Nicholas become, after a few years of preparation for it, what it gave promise to be at its commencement, a period of interior organization and moral improvement!

APPENDIX.

STUDIES, NOTES, AND EXPLANATIONS.

Note (1.) Page 93.

THE FAMILY OF THE PRINCES GALITSIN.

THE nobility of the Russian empire, like its population in general, is composed of families of divers origins, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, German, Swedish, Tartar, Georgian, Armenian, Tcherkess, &c.

Among the Polish nobility, historical names are so very numerous that we cannot undertake to give a list of them; but to the higher aristocracy of the provinces now Russian* belong principally the following:—Princes Radzivill, Sapieha, Sanguszko, Tablonowski, Lubomirski, Droucki, Czetwertinski, &c.; Counts Potocki, Branicki, Grabowski, Wielhorski, &c.

Princes Giedroyc (pronounced *Ghiédroïtz*), the descendants of the Jagellons, more particularly represent Lithuania, properly so called, of which they have remained, with Princes and Counts Oginski and a few others, one of the most important families.

At the head of the German nobility of the Baltic provinces are the families of Lieven, Medem, Sacken, Tiesenhausen, Essen, Toll, Stackelberg, Budberg, Buxhœvden, Benkendorff, Ungern-Sternberg, Sievers, Korff, Pahlen, Kayserlingk, and many others. The Wittgensteins, Nesselrodes, and Munnichs belong to Germany, properly so called.

Among the Swedish families, we may mention the Steinbocks, Fersens, and Armfelds.

Princes Joussoupoff, Ouroussoff, Meschtcherski, and Doundoukoff are of Tartar origin; but their union with Russia is of such ancient date that these families ought to be considered as entirely mingled with the Russian nobility, properly so called. The case is not the same with the Ghiraï and a few other illustrious Mussulman families; the latter, dispossessed of the countries under their do-

* We do not speak of those who, like Prince Czartoryiski, have separated from Russia.

minion at a still recent period, have remained true to their nationality. The Ghiraï, as is well known, are of the dynasty that formerly reigned in the Crimea.

The countries where the Georgian language is spoken furnish a considerable number to the higher nobility of the empire; we may mention the Czarevitch of Grousia and other members of the family of Bagrath, the Dadianoffs of Mingrelia, and Princes Chervachidzé, Tchevtchévadzé, Orbélianoff, Eristoff, Bagrathion, and Tsitsianoff. The Lasareffs and a few more ancient families belong to Armenia.

The Princes Tcherkasskoï settled in Russia several centuries, having come from the country of the Tcherkesses, a few *pchi* or princes of whom even now remaining in that country, might likewise be reckoned among the nobility of the empire.

As to the Russian families properly so called, the essentially national aristocracy, the case is the same as with the Polish families; and we should be led too far if we were to recount all their illustrious names. The most important of these families, and those which history has had to quote the most frequently, are the following:—First, Princes Dolgorouki, Galitsin, Troubetzkoï, Kourakin, and others of the race of Rurik; next, Counts and Princes Saltikoff, Princes Lapoukhin, Chérémétieff, Tolstoï, Golovin, Wormzom, Moussine-Pouschkin, Boutourlin, Naryschkin, Tchernycheff, Apraxin, Stroganoff, Roumantsoff, Panin, &c. Other families, now very important, or who have been during the last century, such as Chouvaloff, Rasoumofski, Potemkin, Orloff, and Zouboff, are of much more recent celebrity.

Several of the families comprised in this still very imperfect enumeration are subjects of short notices in the present work, and it is our intention to give an account of the others hereafter in our future publications on Russia.

We have mentioned at the head of all, those of Princes Dolgorouki and Galitsin: in fact, none are more important. To the former, one of its members, Prince Peter Dolgorouki, has devoted a learned monography in the Russian language. Without being able to enter into such extensive details on the latter, we will attempt, in our turn, to sketch its genealogy and history, in a notice whose only merit will be that of a conscientious research, but which will at least serve, we hope, to throw a light upon many points of the general history of Russia.

The name of this family, which has long been well known in our western part of Europe, is generally written *Gallitzin*, but our orthography is more in accordance with pronunciation. In Russia it is written *Golitsyne;* for it is derived from *golitsa*, a long glove

or gauntlet, a surname borne by the first ancestor of this race, now so numerous, and divided into so great a number of branches.

Like Princes Khavanski,* Koretzki, and Kourakin, the Galitsins are descended from Narimund, the second son of Ghédimin, the grand-prince of Lithuania in the fourteenth century ;† and again, like the Kourakins, they consider themselves as sprung from Prince George, great-grandson to Narimund, and son of Patrick, prince of Zvénigorod, in Volhynia. This Prince George is said to have taken to wife Anne, the sister of the Grand-Prince Vassili Vassiliévitch Temnoï (The Blind).

But without going back to an origin so remote, and too much obscured, perhaps, by the mists of time, we may consider Michael Ivanovitch Boulgakoff, surnamed Golitsa on account of the kind of skin mittens which he used to wear over his woollen gloves, as the real ancestor of the family,—the common trunk to which all the branches of his genealogical tree are attached. After being boïar (in 1510) of the Grand-Prince Vassili Joannovitch, and voïvode in the war against the Crim Tartars, he next made a campaign against the Poles, but was beaten, in 1514, by Prince Constantine of Ostrog in the battle of Orcha. Being taken prisoner with his brother Andrew, he was conducted to Wilna, where he remained for a space of thirty-seven years in strict confinement, from which he was at length liberated, being sent back in 1552, "out of respect for his loyalty and stoical firmness," according to the expression used by the King of Poland in a letter to Joann IV. Vassiliévitch; but on condition of returning to his confinement, should the peace which the king was negotiating at Moscow not be concluded. In fact it was not, and then Joann Vassiliévitch permitted Michael to fulfil his promise. It is stated that the boïar, wishing to devote the remainder of his days to God, had become a monk at the celebrated convent of Troïtza, founded by St. Sergius. However this may be, he set out on his journey back; but he died in 1556, before he reached the King of Poland.

He left an only son, George Mikhaïlovitch, who had two sons. Of the latter, the eldest, *Ivân*, was boïar and had a numerous line of descendants, as we shall presently see; the second son, *Vassili*, was the father of an illustrious man; but the latter died without issue.

This man is that Prince Vassili Vassiliévitch Galitsin, of whom we have spoken on several occasions in the preceding volume,

* In Russian it is likewise written, *Khovanski*.

† See "Mémoires sur l'Origine et la Généalogie de la Maison des Princes Galitsin," with four genealogical tables, Frankfort and Leipsic, 1767, 32 pages, quarto. To the copy in the public library of Strasburg, is annexed a MS. copy-book of corrections and additions, attributed to Müller, the historiographer of Russia during the reign of Catherine II.

and who was very near being raised to the throne of the czars. After being voïvode and boïar under Boris Godounoff, he was defeated in 1604, with other Russian generals, by the army of Demetrius, the impostor, at Novogorod-Severskoi. He then embraced the cause of the impostor, who named him grand-master of his court (*vélikii dvoretzkii*). He served also the Czaf Vassili Chouiski. After the dethronement of the latter in 1610, the patriarch proposed Prince Galitsin to the choice of the council that was again to provide for the vacant throne. But the dread of the Poles, whose army, commanded by the famous Zolkiewiski, was before the walls of the Kremlin, determined the election of Vladislas Wasa, the king's son; and Galitsin was one of the ambassadors commissioned to proceed to him to announce this news. Like Philaretes Romanoff, he was cast into a dungeon when Cracow had been informed of the events that had taken place at Moscow after their departure; but, less happy than he, he never recovered his liberty; for he died in 1619, a few months only before the conclusion of the peace.

The race was, as we have said, continued by his uncle, Ivân Iouriévitch. The latter had two sons, Ivân and Andrew Ivanovitch, both boïars under Boris Godounoff. The second had also two sons, bearing the same names, and both likewise boïars. The younger, Andrew Andréïevitch, the governor of Pskoff in 1598, was declared boïar in 1638, and died in the month of October of that year. He it was who, through his four sons, Vassili, Ivân, Alexis, and Michael, became the stock of so many branches of the family Galitsin, which, for the sake of perspicuity, we must trace separately.

FIRST BRANCH, CALLED VASSILI.

We know nothing about Vassili Andréïevitch, except that he died in 1652, and was the father of the great Galitsin, the favourite of the Tsarevne Sophia. As the latter performed an important part in history, we ought to enter into a few particulars respecting him.

Vassili Vassiliévitch, Prince Galitsin, was born in 1633, and received an education—at that period very uncommon, in his own country and even elsewhere—for it comprised the study of Greek, Latin, and German; and if French did not also form a part, it is because it was then only beginning to assume the character of a universal language, being recommended to the attention of all men by numerous fine works. Galitsin passed his youth at court, but did not neglect to become perfect in martial exercises. At the time of the accession of the Czar Fœdor III. Alexéïevitch (1676), Russia was at war with the Turks and the Crim Tartars respecting the Cossacks of the Dnieper. The latter, after having submitted

to her dominion, had revolted at the instigation of Dorochenko, and invoked the assistance of the Mussulmans. This war, the management of which was entrusted to Prince Romodanofski, was, for the most part, concentrated about the city of Tchighirin. Here Galitsin took an active part; he contributed to bring the war to a happy conclusion, and to secure the tranquillity of Lesser Russia. The czar was grateful: he conferred on the prince the command of the Cossacks, raised him to the dignity of boïar, and placed much confidence in him on every occasion. Galitsin sat among the lords (*velmoja*) at first charged to direct the business of state in the name of his youthful sovereign. The reign of the latter was agitated by the quarrels between the Miloslafskis and the Naryschkins: he sided with the former, and was one of the chief instruments of the downfall of the wise Matvéïeff, who was sent into exile. Föedor charged Galitsin with the reorganization of the army, where the pretensions of the nobles, by opposing their genealogy and the list of the services of the members of their families at different periods, to the exigencies of the military hierarchy, had introduced insubordination and confusion. Then it was that this prince did a signal service to his country, by advising his master to abolish for ever the hierarchy of ranks such as it was consecrated under the name of *mestnichestvo* (state of places), and to commit to the flames the registers called the books of the *razriad* (*razriad kia knighi*). Before putting this important measure into execution, he submitted it to the sanction of the prelates of the highest rank, the natural councillors of the prince at that period, as also to that of the principal boïars, and succeeded in this negotiation. The holocaust took place on the 12th of January, 1682 (old style*), and Galitsin persevering in the path of reforms, then prosecuted that of the army.

Föedor died in the same year (1682); and then the quarrel between the families of his father's two wives openly burst forth. Jourü Miloslafski had no trouble in gaining over to his party the Tsarevne Sophia, an ambitious, energetic, and highly intelligent woman,† then twenty-four years of age, who was indignant at the idea that young Peter, the son of Natalia Naryschkin, Alexis's second wife, should be preferred to her half-brother Joann, who was incapable of reigning by himself. Galitsin, devoted to the same party, became councillor to the tsarevne, and was not a stranger to the sanguinary revolt of the strelitz, which lasted three days, from the 15th to the 18th of May, 1682. Nearly seventy persons, among whom were two Naryschkins, brothers of the

* Throughout this work, the dates relate to the old style, unless when the contrary is expressly mentioned.

† An original portrait of her exists in the museum of Versailles.

Czarina Natalia, and the boïar Matvéïeff perished in that massacre. Joann and Peter Alexéïevitch were placed together upon the throne, and the regency was intrusted to Sophia, who kept it for seven years.

All her actions were guided by the counsels of Galitsin, who was called to the post of prime minister. The following were then his official titles: keeper (*obérégatel*) of the grand czarian seal, of the great affairs of the empire and of embassies, intimate boïar (*blijenii boiarine*), and governor of Novogorod the Great. His power was immense; but his hopes went still further: being the favourite of the regent, he ventured to pretend to her hand, and, if his ambitious projects had been realized, he would have sat with her upon the throne of Monomachus.* Circumstances were not favourable to these designs. The strelitz were not yet appeased; and soon the murder of Khavanski, their leader, rekindled among them the flames of insurrection. By the advice of her minister, Sophia and her whole court took refuge in the monastery of Troïtza, and her firmness triumphed over the sedition of the militia. Nevertheless she could not think of such a marriage: the prince was detested by the strelitz as much as by the boïars; besides which, he was not the only one who enjoyed the favour of the regent.

On the 24th of April, 1686, he signed, at Moscow, a very advantageous treaty of peace with Poland: the latter renounced definitively all the possessions she had already ceded to the predecessors of the two czars, and an alliance was agreed to between her, Russia, the court of Vienna, and the republic of Venice, against the Turks.

By virtue of this treaty war recommenced the very next year: Galitsin, at the head of an army of 200,000 men, marched in person against the Crimea; but he was not happy in two successive campaigns, and returned without having obtained any signal result.

In 1689, that new revolution took place which wrested the sway out of the hands of Sophia to bestow it at length upon the youthful Peter, who was destined to use it in so remarkable a manner. In vain had Galitsin advised the regent to take refuge in Poland: she was confined in a convent, and the favourite, after striving in vain to move the young monarch, was himself cast into prison. He was accused of having given Sophia the title of autocrat, which she had indeed usurped, of having yielded blindly to her orders, and of having occasioned serious losses to the country in the last campaign in the Crimea. Being brought to trial in the month of September, he was exiled, together with his son Alexis, to Jarensk, a town in the northern government of Vologda: he

* We have already seen that the Galitsins had long before been very near ascending it. A no less brilliant prospect presented itself to the Dolgoroukis during the reign of Peter II.

was deprived of all his titles and honours, and all his wealth was confiscated. A complaint, imprudently uttered, aggravated his condition still more: being denounced by a monk, he was removed in 1693, to the fort of Poustozersk, in the frozen district of Mézen (in the government of Archangel), whence he was allowed to return no further than Pinéga. There it was that the unfortunate exile, then eighty years of age, ended his career on the 13th of March, 1713.

In foreign countries he was called the *Great Galitsin:* he possessed much intelligence and talent, and had established a regular correspondence with almost all the courts of Europe; his envoys had been everywhere well received, and, during his administration, the importance of Russia abroad was rapidly increasing. Nor were his services at home less beneficial: he beautified Moscow, where he caused numerous edifices to be constructed, among others that of the stone bridge over the Moskva; he invited thither learned men, encouraged commerce and the importation of foreign books, persuaded the nobles to send their sons to Poland or other countries to familiarize them a little with the advantages of European civilization, and seconded the endeavours of the regent, who herself cultivated literature, to cause the arts and sciences to flourish in a country where, in their absence, life had been till then entirely material, dull, and monotonous.

Prince Vassili Vassiliévitch left two sons; the second, Michael Vassiliévitch did not long survive him, but Alexis, the elder, who, during the time of his father's power, had been his coadjutor, and whom Sophia had raised to the dignity of boïar, prolonged his career till 1734. Not only were the two brothers allowed to return from exile, but Peter restored to Alexis a part of his inheritance, and the Empress Anne gave back to him at a later period whatever still remained in the possession of the exchequer. Alexis had children; and the branch to which he belonged is still flourishing at the present day. Among his descendants we may mention Prince Alexander Nikolaïévitch, born in 1773, who became chancellor of the Russian orders.

SECOND BRANCH, CALLED IVAN.

This was the least flourishing of the four, and shortly became extinct. Its founder, Ivân Andreïévitch, had a son, André Ivanovitch, a boïar like himself; but no other member of this branch deserves to be mentioned.

THIRD BRANCH, CALLED ALEXIS.

It is this branch of the family Galitsin, as also the following one, which has produced the greatest number of celebrated men.

Prince Alexis Andreïévitch, born in 1622, died in 1694: he was governor successively at Kief and at Tobolsk, and obtained the dignity of boïar. He left six sons and several daughters. The most remarkable of his sons was the second, named Boris Alexeïévitch, born in 1641. After being grand cup-bearer during the regency of Sophia, he was invested with the dignity of boïar, and, soon after, the Czarina Natalia appointed him tutor (*diadka*) to her son, on whom the licentious morals of the court had already exercised their pernicious influence. According to certain versions of Strahlenheim,* but we do not wish to be answerable for them, Prince Boris, who is also described as learned, was "a lord of much wit, but young and debauched." Here is certainly an error as to age, and doubtless the case is the same as to morals; for Bergmann, an honest and indefatigable biographer of Peter the Great, terms the governor of the young czar an honest man,† and Prince Dolgorouki carries this praise still further.‡ The versions related by Strahlenheim are generally malevolent and exaggerated: an opinion of them may be formed from those concerning Lefort the Genoese.§ The same author relates how Prince Boris cured his pupil of his antipathy to water; but this anecdote is likewise suspected. What is more certain is, that the tutor had great influence over his pupil, and that the latter remained constantly attached to him. At the time of his first journey abroad (1697), he named him member of the council of the Five charged with the government during his absence, and, in 1700, he intrusted to him the administration of the provinces of Kasan and Astrakhan. Towards the close of his life, Boris resolved to devote himself to God: he became a monk at Frolitcheff, near Gorokhovetz (Vladimir), and died soon after, in 1713. Boris left three sons and several daughters.

His brother, Prince Peter Alexéïevitch, was ambassador at Vienna till 1705, and one of the first senators named in 1711. Being appointed governor successively of Archangel, Riga, and Kief, he regulated the organization of these different governments, and was rewarded with the order of St. Andrew. He died at

* "Description Historique de l'Empire Russien," t. 1, p. 132.

† *Nebst dem rechtlichen Boris*, &c. See "Peter der Grosse," &c., t. 1, p. 159.

‡ *Sbornick*, or "Recueil Généalogique Russe," liv. iii. p. 112.

§ See a notice of him in the "Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde." Strahlenheim (t. i. p. 218) knew already, but less exactly, the story of the little boat at Izmaïloff, the starting point of the Russian navy. This story was related by Peter the Great himself in a kind of historical account, written in Russian by his own hand, a document on which M. Oustrialoff has lately discoursed in the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg (lecture of the 16th of February, 1844).

Kief in 1722. One of his daughters, Elizabeth Petrovna, married general-in-chief Prince Alexander Alexandrovitch Menchikoff, who died in 1764; a second was married to a dadian (of Mingrelia?), &c.

Another brother was Ivân Alexéïevitch, who died likewise in 1722. Like Boris and Peter, he left several children.

We have said that Prince Boris Alexéïevitch Galitsin left a great number of children. One of them, Vassili Borissovitch, who, born in 1681, died in 1710, had in his turn a numerous posterity: among his sons we may note Admiral Prince Boris Vassiliévitch, born in 1705, and who died in 1768; and among the sons of the latter, Vladimir Borissovitch, who was a brigadier in the army,* and married, in 1766, Countess Natalia Tchernycheff, whose father was ambassador to France in the reign of Catherine II. This distinguished woman, born in 1741, refined by her long residence abroad, and who attained the age of 96, was commonly called the *Princess Voldemar* (Vladimir). Being lady of honour *à portrait* to the present empress, honoured with the order of St. Catherine of the first class, she enjoyed the entire confidence of the imperial family, and her house was frequented by the most select company of St. Petersburg. Although eighty years of age at the time of the coronation of Nicholas, she performed the functions of her office on that occasion, and her career was prolonged to the 20th of December (old style), 1837, two days after the burning of the Winter Palace, the first stone of which she had seen laid in the reign of the Empress Elizabeth.†

Among their children, Prince Dmitri Vladimirovitch, long governor-general of Moscow, where he will ever be fondly remembered, deserves particular notice. He was born on the 29th of October, 1771, entered the horse-guards, and, in 1794, served in the campaign of Poland. His promotion was rapid. Being made major-general in 1798, and lieutenant-general in 1802, he commanded a division in the war against France from 1806 to 1807, and another in the war against Sweden in 1808. He then retired from the service; but he re-entered it in 1812 to command the heavy cavalry, distinguished himself at the battle of Leipsic, and was promoted, at the time the allies entered Paris, to the rank of general-in-chief. For some time he had the command of the first corps of cavalry; but, in January, 1820, he was appointed to the post of governor-general of Moscow, which he enjoyed till his death. Moreover, he was called, in 1821, to sit in the council of the empire. Honours of every kind were conferred on him: thus,

* It was a rank immediately next below that of major-general; but it has been abolished.

† It is well known that this palace was rebuilt in a year.

as we have stated in vol. i., Nicholas bestowed on him, after his accession, the grand riband of St. Andrew; in 1837, he gave him his portrait, and his wife (whose maiden name was Vassiltchikoff) was made a lady of honour. The following is the opinion formed of him by one of his countrymen: "Prince Dmitri," says Count d'Almagro,* "a loyal man of a chivalrous character, who commanded with distinction different divisions of the army in the wars of the Emperor Alexander, and has now been governor-general of Moscow for twenty-three years, is the object of general veneration there—to such a degree, that Moscow is the only capital in Europe where the appearance of the cholera has not been signalized by troubles, owing to the unlimited confidence which the inhabitants of this city put in the prince." Being afflicted with a long and painful illness, the general went to Paris in order to be treated by the most skilful physicians; he died there on the 8th of April, 1844 (new style).

Fœdor Sergheïevitch, another of the grandsons of Boris Alexéïevitch, married also a Countess Tchernycheff (Anne), daughter of the general-in-chief of that name. Their son Sergius Fœdorovitch, born in 1748, distinguished himself under Catherine II. by his military achievements, which obtained for him the order of St. George of the second class, and reached the rank of general of infantry. At the commencement of Alexander's reign he was military governor of Livonia. In 1802 he received the riband of St. Andrew, and, in 1810, he was occupying Gallicia in the name of Russia, when he died, leaving seven sons, one of whom, Vassili Serghéïevitch, became the second husband of the Princess Helena of Italy, of whom we have already spoken.

Prince Alexander Nikolaïevitch Galitsin, the friend of Alexander, and minister of worship during his reign, is likewise one of the descendants of Boris Alexéïevitch. He was born in 1773, and when still very young, was attached to the court; after fulfilling for some time the duties of attorney-general in the holy synod, he was called by Alexander, in 1810, to the recently organized council of the empire. Notwithstanding the liveliness of his character, he shared the sentiments of his master, who, after the two campaigns in France, indulged in those evangelical opinions (*pietisme*) which we have mentioned in the preceding volume Notes (11) and (13). After uniting public worship and public instruction in a single ministry, Alexander intrusted it, in 1816, to Prince Galitsin, who applied himself to the task of making religion flourish in the empire. But, by favouring the Bible societies, and prosecuting a work of evangelization, on the basis of the Bible, he displeased the

* Prince P. Dolgorouki, "Notice sur les Principales Familles de la Russie," p. 28.

clergy, who went so far as to make remonstrances several times to the emperor, and whose influence at length gained the upper hand. The Bible Society,* founded in 1812, fell into disrepute; the cause of the Greeks, of which the prince had been also a zealous promoter, was likewise abandoned, and on the 27th of May, 1824, he lost his double portfolio, soon replaced, however, by that of the general direction of the posts, which allowed him to preserve his seat in the council of ministers. He had attained the rank of actual privy councillor; and the Emperor Nicholas, who had conferred on him the grand riband of St. Andrew, and given him his portrait, appointed him chancellor of the Russian orders, confirming him in his other duties. The prince performed them all till the year 1842; then his still increasing weakness of sight obliged him to give in his resignation, and he withdrew to his estates in the Crimea, where he died, almost blind, on the 4th of December, 1844 (new style).

To the branch of Alexis, but not to the line of Boris,† belonged also Prince Dmitri Alexéïevitch, who, in 1768, married the daughter of Count Schmettau, a Prussian general. He cultivated the arts and sciences, was a learned mineralogist, in correspondence with Voltaire, a member of several academies, and the author of several works.‡ Kéralio, a contemporary, says of him: § "He combines very extensive knowledge with the most simple manners, the most obliging disposition, and the most polite and humane sentiments." He was born in 1734, became actual chamberlain to the Empress Elizabeth, was appointed minister plenipotentiary in France in 1764, afterwards to the States-General at the Hague, and died at Brunswick in 1803. His wife, the Princess Amelia Galitsin, made herself celebrated in Germany by her love of literature, and by her piety, which she carried to excess. She mainly contributed to the conversion of Count de Stolberg, and determined that of her son Dmitri, as also his voyage to America, where he became a priest and missionary. Hemsterhuys, Hamann, Jacobi, and Göethe were among her friends, and the former addressed to her, in 1785, his *Letter on Atheism.* The French revolution having put an end to the mission of her husband, she withdrew with him to Germany. After the death of the prince, his widow, who lived in retirement at Munster, died near that city, in 1806.||

* See further Note (10). † To that of Ivân Alexeïevitch.

‡ See an article on him by M. Weiss, in the "Biographie Universelle," and another in Snéghireff's "Dictionary of Profane Russian Authors," (in Russian) t. i. p. 319.

§ "Histoire de la Dernière Guerre entre les Russes et les Turcs," t. ii. p. 150.

|| See, for an account of her, memoirs (*Denkwurdigkeiten*) published by Dr. T. Katerkamp, new ed., Munster, 1838, 8vo.

Their son, Dmitri Dmitriévitch, born at the Hague, in 1770, abjured the schism,* as we have just said. His mother sent him to America, where he entered the seminary of St. Mary at Baltimore, and was consecrated a priest, on the 19th of March, 1795. Being charged with the curacy of Conwago, in the province of Cambria, he performed those humble duties with uncommon devotion till his death, which happened on the 6th of May, 1840. Several other princes Galitsin have changed their religion: we will mention first the one whom the Empress Anne, by way of punishing him for his abjuration, appointed, notwithstanding his being forty years of age, page and court fool. It was for him, on the occasion of her second marriage, celebrated with burlesque festivities (in 1739) that the empress caused that palace of ice to be constructed, which, according to Manstein and others, occasioned so much surmise. We may mention, moreover, Prince Peter Alexéïevitch, born in 1792, who died in Paris in 1842.

Lastly, to the branch of Alexis belong also the two brothers, Paul and Voldemar (Vladimir) Vassiliévitch Princes Galitsin, who are at this moment,—one grand-chamberlain and adjutant-general to the Emperor Nicholas, and the other grand equerry to the empress.

FOURTH BRANCH, CALLED MICHAEL.

Michael Andréïevitch, the ancestor of this branch, who was born in 1630, and died in 1687, was boïar and vïovode of Koursk. He had seven children, of whom four were sons, who are now successively to engage our attention.

Dmitri Mikhaïlovitch, the eldest, born on the 3rd of June, 1665, was boïar under Fëedor Alexéïevitch, and afterwards under Peter the Great (1700-1702), ambassador at Constantinople, governor of Kief and senator, with the rank of actual privy councillor. After the death of this emperor, he was member of the privy council of state, where his influence was very great. In 1727 he was honoured with the riband of St. Andrew. "He was an eminent statesman," says Count d'Almagro; "he directed the finances of the empire, and was the leader of that party which, having at its head the two families Galitsin and Dolgorouki, wanted, at the

* We make use of the customary terms, without any intention of censure. Abjuration has just been again prohibited in Russia, under severe penalties, which apply to anybody who may have contributed to such an act; it is allowed only for embracing the orthodox Greek religion. The ancient Russian toleration—to which, however, the clergy never yielded but by compulsion—disappears now-a-days before the system of unity, the realization of which the Emperor Nicholas pursues by every possible means, both spiritual and political.

death of Peter II. in 1730, to place limits to the imperial power.* This enterprise having failed, the two families that had conducted it were exiled, and Prince Dmitri was confined in the fortress of Schlusselbourg." The disgrace of the Galitsin family lasted throughout the reign of the Empress Anne. Dmitri, an old Russian, averse to all the innovations successively taking place, easily resigned himself to the hardships of captivity, and, says Manstein, supported adversity with dignity. He died in confinement in 1738; but his children were shortly after put into possession of all the honours then become almost hereditary in their family.

His brother, Michael Mikhaïlovitch, was the famous field-marshal, companion in arms of Peter the Great, and one of his lieutenants at the battle of Pultava. This Prince Galitsin, who was born on the 1st of November, 1675, and died on the 10th of December, 1730, is the most illustrious of the members of this family. His life is well known,† therefore we need not copy it here. "As loyal and magnanimous as he was valiant," says Prince Dolgorouki, "he won the esteem both of his fellow-countrymen and of his enemies." He left seventeen children: we shall presently advert to a few of his sons; and as to his daughters, we may mention at once that one of them became the wife of Field-Marshal Count Roumantsoff.

The third son of Michael Andréïevitch was a lieutenant-general. The fourth, born in 1685, was, like the second, named Michael Mikhaïlovitch, to which is added the epithet of *the younger*. Being intended for the navy, he went to qualify himself for this career in Holland and England. After having fought for the first time under Peter the Great, he was promoted by Catherine I. to the rank of rear-admiral. This princess employed him, moreover, in high political functions; she appointed him senator and member of the privy council of state. In this last capacity he was the second of the plenipotentiaries sent to Mitau to offer the imperial crown to the Duchess-Dowager of Courland, Anna Jvannovna. Under this princess of the elder branch he became president of the college of justice and member of the high administration of the navy. During the following reign, after having been (in 1740) governor of Astrakhan, he was sent, with the title of grand-ambassador, into Persia, where he remained four years. His recompense was the riband of St. Andrew. Lastly, in 1756, he was again appointed, by the Empress Elizabeth, general admiral and president of the college of the admiralty. Prince Michael Mikhaïlovitch Galitsin died on the 23rd of May, 1764, leaving several sons, the

* This again would be a curious point to clear up, and we will do so on the first opportunity: there is an abundance of matter.

† See Bantysch-Kamensky's "Siècle de Pierre le Grand," French transl., Paris, 1826, 8vo., p. 115-197.

eldest of whom, Alexander Mikhaïlovitch, who, born in 1723, died in 1807, was successively minister-plenipotentiary at London and vice-chancellor of the empire; whilst the fourth, Peter Mikhaïlovitch, born in 1738, served with distinction in the war of Poland, and in that against Pougatcheff. After attaining the rank of brigadier-general, he was killed in a duel in 1575. The third son, Michael Mikhaïlovitch, born in 1731, and chamberlain to the empress, had twelve children, of whom five were sons; among the latter, we will mention Sergius Mikhaïlovitch the youngest of all.

But let us now come to the sons of the celebrated companion in arms of Peter the Great. We pass by the two elder, of whom one was a lieutenant-general, to bestow our attention immediately on the one who, like his father, received the staff of marshal. Alexander Mikhaïlovitch was born on the 17th of November, 1718; his mother was a princess of the Kourakin family. When still very young he entered the military career, and made his first appearance in arms, as a volunteer, in the army of Prince Eugene, when, in 1733, that great captain, then very old, once more left his retirement to command an imperial army on the Rhine, in the war concerning the succession in Poland. However, peace was concluded as early as 1735; then the young Russian officer, in order to make his leisure of some use, turned his attention to diplomacy. In 1740 he formed a part of the embassy to Constantinople, the head of which was Alexander Ivanovitch Roumantsoff; he was appointed, a few years afterwards, plenipotentiary at Dresden, and received also the title of chamberlain. However, his first inclination, a military life, having again become predominant, he re-entered the army, with the rank of brigadier-general (1740), and served successively under Marshals Munnich and Lascy. He was made lieutenant-general at the commencement of the Seven Years' war, where he distinguished himself, received a wound, and was rewarded with the rank of general-in-chief (*ghénéral polnii*): Elizabeth conferred on him moreover, in 1759, the riband of St. Alexander Nevski.

After the death of this empress, Prince Alexander Galitsin had the command of the united army in Livonia; he did not hesitate to declare for Catherine II. as soon as the revolution of 1762 had placed her upon the throne; accordingly he was in great favour with her for the rest of his life. On the day of her coronation she created him a knight of St. Andrew, and in 1768, when, after thirty years' peace, Russia was obliged to take up arms against the Turks, she intrusted to him the command of the army encamped on this side of the Dniester.

It was Poland, as everybody knows, that occasioned the rupture between the two powers. Catherine, not satisfied with placing her former lover, Stanislaus Poniatowski, upon the throne of the

republic, oppressed the unhappy country where her representative, Prince Nicholas Repnin, exercised an absolute authority. The confederation of Bar having formed itself to defend the national independence, Russia sent immediately her troops against it; the Porte, on its part, jealous of the influence of the Russians, which was almost exclusive of every other, sided with the confederates, whose precipitate retreat occasioned a violation of their frontier.

Catherine II., writing to the philosopher of Ferney (Voltaire), gave an account of this war in a somewhat burlesque manner. "In the month of October (1768)," says she, "Mustapha thought proper to declare war against Russia; he was no better prepared for it than we were. When he was informed that we were defending ourselves vigorously, he was quite astonished, for he had been led to expect* many things that did not come to pass. Then he ordered that one million one hundred thousand men should repair from the different provinces of his empire to Adrianople to take Kiovie (Kief), winter at Moscow, and overwhelm Russia.

"Moldavia alone received orders to furnish a million of bushels of corn for the innumerable army of Mussulmans. The hospodar replied that Moldavia did not gather so much even in the most fertile year, and that it was impossible. But he received a second command to execute the orders given, and he was promised some money.

"The train of artillery for this army was in proportion to the multitude. It was to consist of 600 pieces of cannon, which were assigned from the arsenals; but when the time came to put them in motion, the greater number was left behind, and about sixty pieces only were carried off.

"At length, in the month of March (1669), more than 600,000 men were assembled at Adrianople. But as they were absolutely in want of everything, they soon began to desert. However, the vizier crossed the Danube with 400,000 men. There were 180,000 of them before Choczim (Khotin) on the 28th of August. You know the rest. But what you do not know, perhaps, is, that the vizier was the seventh who passed back over the bridge on the Danube, and that he had not 5,000 men when he retreated to Balada. So this was all that he had left of that prodigious army. Those who had not perished had fled."

For our readers, who are doubtless not so familiar with these events as a contemporary might be, who was attentive to all that was passing, it will be proper to add a few explanations, borrowed from serious history.

The empress had caused two principal armies to be assembled; one, called the first army, on the Dniester, to prevent the Turks

* The empress doubtless means the French ambassador.

from joining the Polish confederates; and the other, called the second army, on the frontier of the Khanat of the Crimea, in order to oppose the incursions of the Tartars; bodies of troops were moreover, sent on the Kouban and into the isthmus of the Caucasus. The first army was intrusted to the command of Prince Galitsin, and the second to that of Count Roumantsoff, who, like him, then held only the rank of general-in-chief.

The campaign of 1769 was not decisive. The vizier sought to penetrate into Podolia, but Galitsin blocked up his road near Khotin.* He crossed the Dniester in April, attacked the Turkish outposts almost under the fire of the fortress, and gained an advantage which seemed propitious for the sequel of events. Khotin was immediately invested; but in the beginning of August, the prince abandoned the blockade and repassed the Dniester. Catherine II., in her letters to Voltaire, alleges the want of forage as the motive for this step; others have thought that the prince, although a good soldier on the whole, and full of courage and honour, was nevertheless wanting perhaps in energy at that moment, and too much inclined to yield to difficulties. Soon afterwards the fortress, abandoned by its commandant, was taken by the Russians; but this did not prevent Galitsin from receiving an order to give up the command of his army to Roumantsoff. Perhaps the reports of Potemkin, one of his generals, and the enmity of Orloff, contributed somewhat to this disgrace;† but the great success of the Russians in the following campaign, the victories gained by Roumantsoff on the Larga and the Kagoul, justified the measure taken by the empress. Till then, the war had been but feebly conducted: to form a true idea of it, said Frederick the Great, "we must imagine a set of one-eyed men thrashing a number of blind men, and at length mastering them completely."

However, the prince did not the less enjoy the esteem of his sovereign. In writing to him her letter of recall, she took the greatest care to remove every idea of humiliation: she wanted him

* *Choczym* in Polish.

† We read in the "Vie du Prince Potemkine," p. 23, that this future favourite "affected, in his private correspondence with Gregory Orloff, to depreciate this estimable general and to blame his operations. Perhaps his aim was twofold: to please Orloff and obtain the recall of Galitsin, whom he would have replaced for the rest of the campaign." The author adds: "Marshal Galitsin was not only an excellent general, but a man of well-tried honesty, whose loyalty did not allow him to mix himself up in court intrigues. His wife, a Princess Gagarin by birth, was the real cause of the quarrel that existed between her husband and the Orloffs. She was equally endowed with intelligence and virtue. Never fearing to tell her opinion to the court with a firmness and freedom which caused her to be respected and dreaded, she had displeased the Orloffs by her noble candour.

about her person, she said;* and when he arrived at her court, the empress handed to the conqueror of Khotin the staff of field-marshal, which Roumantsoff did not receive till the year following. She promised him he should be actively employed again, and appointed him in the meantime governor-general of St. Petersburg. She included him also among the first knights grand-cross of the order of St. Vladimir, which she had founded. The Princess Galitsin, who had been lady of honour ever since 1773, was much esteemed at court, where her husband himself never ceased to receive the most gracious welcome.

The field-marshal died on the 11th of October, 1783, leaving behind him a well-merited reputation, which, however, did not equal his father's.

The first Field-Marshal Galitsin had had other sons, among whom Dmitri Mikhaïlovitch, the fourth, deserves to engage, for a moment, our attention. Born in 1721, and married to a Princess Kantémir, the daughter of the hispodar of Wallachia,† he devoted himself to diplomacy, after having been promoted in the military career to the rank of major-general, and represented for thirty years (from 1761 to 1792) his court at Vienna, where he acquired a reputation for ability and the most loyal character. He negotiated with Austria concerning the first partition of Poland, and put his signature to several important treaties. He was esteemed by Prince de Kaunitz, and enjoyed also the entire confidence of Catherine II., who loaded him with honours, raised him to the rank of actual privy councillor, and conferred on him successively the grand riband of St. Vladimir, and that of St. Andrew. As old age approached, Prince Dmitri demanded to be superseded; but he remained at Vienna, where he died on the 19th of September, 1793. In his will he left a sum of 850,000 roubles for the foundation of an hospital at Moscow, which was to be constantly under the management of a member of his family. This vast mansion, open to the sick ever since 1802, bears his name, and is reckoned among the most curious monuments of the old capital of Russia.

Of the two younger sons of the first Field-Marshal Galitsin, one, Nicolas Mikhaïlovitch was grand-marshal of the court; and the other, André Mikhaïlovitch, major-general. They both left children.

To the Michael branch lastly belongs Prince Sergius Mikhailovitch Galitsin, the son of Michael Mikhaïlovitch, as we have already stated. He was born in 1774, and has arrived at the highest offices of government under the Emperor Nicholas, who

* See Bantysch-Kamenski, "Dictionnaire," &c., t. ii. p. 49.

† She died at Paris in 1761. She was sister to the celebrated Prince Antiochus Kantémir.

conferred on him, in 1829, the rank of actual privy councillor, raised him to the council of the empire in 1837, and made him, the following year, knight of St. Andrew. "He is at this moment," says Count d'Almagro, "the last specimen of that race of great lords which is gradually disappearing, and which will soon exist only in the traditions of Russia."

Note (2), Page 67.

THE FAMILY OF ORLOFF AND THE CONSPIRACY OF 1762.

The terrible rebellion of the Strelitz, which took place in Moscow in 1698, during the absence of Peter I. is well known. That desperate attempt, made at the instigation of the priests against the reforms of the youthful czar, was very similar to the insurrection of the janissaries, at Constantinople, which, in 1826, occasioned the destruction of that turbulent militia. False reports had been circulated. "The czar," it was said, "is approaching the frontiers with an army recruited from abroad; he wants to insure the success of his innovations by force of arms; there will be a total change; it will no longer be lawful to wear beards; the odious practice of tobacco will infest the whole country; and the nation will have to submit to other commands no less contrary than these to reason, conscience, and holy religion." In a short space of time, 20,000 men, preferring death to what they called *heresy*, had risen in arms.*

However, Generals Gordon and Schein crushed the rebellion, and a terrible chastisement awaited the conquered. Sophia, the former regent, had a narrow escape from the scaffold; but several priests suffered this punishment, and hundreds of the unfortunate strelitz, likewise condemned to death, perished by the axe of the executioner, or were hung on a long line of gibbets in the plain of Preobrajensk. Most of them met their death with courage: they were convinced they had fought the good fight; the priests had consecrated their arms and urged them to battle. Therefore, they died contented, sure of finding their reward among the joys of paradise.

Peter had just arrived at Moscow, on his return from his long journey. Yielding to the impulse of his violent character, and determined moreover, to prevent all chance of a reaction, he shewed himself implacable, hastened on the sentences, and increased the

* See Korb's "Diarium Itineris in Moscoviam," Vienna, 1700, folio.

number of the victims. In his opinion, it was necessary to make a terrible example. In vain did the patriarch, holding a holy image in his hands, come to implore his clemency. "What do you want? What means this image?" exclaimed the angry czar. "Go, and put it back in its place! I revere the holy Mother of God perhaps more fervently than you do; but I know also my duty, which teaches me to watch over the safety of my people, and to punish the audacious, whoever they be, who revolt against the order established in my empire."*

Vengeance, therefore, took its course, and the work of the executioner lasted for whole weeks. Not satisfied with being a spectator, Peter took his share of the sanguinary task, and cut off heads with his own hand.

But even when under the axe, the strelitz would still protest their innocence. Peter heard them. "Die, villain!" said he to one of these brave men; "if you be not guilty, may your blood be on my head!"

They laid their heads on long beams, which served as a block for whole ranks. One of the culprits, who was drawing near, finding the czar in his way: "Room, lord," cried he, "I must lay my head there!" This unhappy man lost his life; but another owed his salvation to a proof of similar *sang froid*.

This was a young strelitz. Just as he was going to kneel down before the fatal block, he saw it was encumbered with the head of one of his companions. He is said to have kicked it away, saying, "This is my place! it must be clear." Peter observed the act, and, being struck with the young man's calmness, granted him a pardon; afterwards he placed him in a regiment of the line, where the strelitz shortly so distinguished himself that he acquired the rank of officer, and consequently the title of noble.

This strelitz was named Ivân, and surnamed *Orel*,† that is to say "the eagle." He was the author of the family Orloff.

His son Gregory Ivanovitch rose to the rank of major-general, and was intrusted with the administration of the government of Novogorod. He had five sons, two of whom especially acquired great celebrity. "It would be difficult," says the Empress Catherine II., in a letter to Voltaire,‡ "to decide which of them has the higher merit, or to find a more united family." This was said, it is true, at the time when Gregory Orloff, whom she names in another letter,§ was in very high favour: "that hero," she says, "who resembles the ancient Romans in the best days of the

* Korb, "Diarium," p. 112.
† Pronounced *Aréol*. The word *Orloff* is pronounced *Arloff*.
‡ No. xxix. in the "Recueil."
§ No. xvi. in the "Recueil."

republic, and who is endowed with their courage and generosity." Doubtless, gratitude and passion contributed to the dictation of this magnificent eulogy, which we must not understand too literally.

The education of the Orloffs does not appear to have been brilliant; for not one of them was completely master of the French language, which was almost exclusively in use at the court of St. Petersburg during a considerable period of the last century. However, neither of them was entirely devoid of merit; several, and especially the youngest, had a taste for study; most of them were remarkable for amiable qualities, and an unaffected cordiality, allied, nevertheless, to a certain dignity of manner.

The eldest, Ivân Grigoriévitch, a man without ambition, was little dazzled by the sudden elevation of his family, and remained always far away from court; accordingly, his brothers surnamed him *the philosopher*. Catherine II., on her accession to the throne, made him a senator. This is all we know about him.

The real founder of the fortune of the Orloffs was the second brother, Gregory Grigoriévitch, the only one among them who was invested with the title of prince; whereas they all received at once, in 1762, the title of count.

He was born in 1734, and was remarkable for his manly beauty. Like his father he embraced the military career, and on leaving the corps of cadets, entered the guard with the grade of lieutenant. Having been named aide-de-camp to Count Peter Chouvaloff,* grand-master of the artillery and the inventor of a kind of shell which bore his name, Orloff devoted himself entirely to this branch of the service. But his studies did not take him from the pleasures of the world; and the Seven Years'-war had not the power to keep him long away from the brilliant society of St. Petersburg. He was fond of displaying there his physical advantages; accordingly his handsome countenance was what contributed chiefly to his success. Chouvaloff very soon repented of the choice he had made in taking him for his aide-de-camp; he discovered an intrigue between him and his own mistress,† and, in his anger, vowed the ruin of the young officer. Meanwhile, this affair made so much noise that it drew upon Orloff the attention of the grand-duchess, the consort of Peter Fœdorovitch, the heir of the Empress Elizabeth.

At that period morals were generally loose, and libertinism in high favour; throughout Europe the most deplorable examples were given to the people from the throne, and the immodesty of the women was unbounded. Catherine, who had, at first, been

* He died in 1762, a few months after being appointed field-marshal by Peter III.

† A Princess Kourakin, the sister of the minister Panin.

attached to her duties, had allowed herself to be seduced by the conduct of her husband towards her: after having had a first lover, she had become passionately enamoured of Stanislaus Poniatowski. It was at the time of her intimacy with him, that Orloff had appeared before her for the first time, bringing from Germany a prisoner of note, Count de Schwerin, aide-de-camp to the King of Prussia.* She had scarcely noticed him; for the youthful Pole then held possession of her heart. But the latter was removed from her, and, after a short time, forgotten. Then, dazzled by Orloff's handsome mien, elegant dress, and martial air, she testified extreme benevolence towards him, and sought immediately to have him about her person. The gallant aide-de-camp was admitted to the intimacy of the princess, but, under the veil of secrecy, and succeeded completely in gaining her affections. She caused him to be appointed treasurer of the artillery, by Villebois, grand-master of that branch of service, and successor of Chouvaloff, who had died shortly before.

At the moment of the revolution of 1762, Gregory Orloff, then twenty-eight years of age, had not yet any other rank; his influence over the guard could not therefore be very great; besides which, he had not the support of a rich and powerful family in his favour. But he was ambitious, and supported by three of his brothers, who were no less so; altogether they possessed numerous friends, especially in the artillery corps; and among these friends, Potemkin, a young officer in the guards, was of great use to them, from his connection with the *popes* or priests. Gregory was, moreover, among the intimate friends of a young lady of elegant manners and well informed, connected with the highest nobility and intimate with all the most influential men at the court and in the cabinet of the Empress Elizabeth, but, at the same time, intriguing, of strong passions, and capable of sacrificing everything to her offended dignity.

This young woman was the Princess Catherine Daschkoff,† by birth Countess Woronzow. Being the friend of the grand-duchess (Catherine), and the confidant of all her plans, and, on the other hand, the sworn enemy of the grand-duke, through her jealousy of her sister Elizabeth Woronzow, Peter's mistress, who, it was said, would one day be raised to the throne, the princess had long been meditating the destruction of the imprudent heir to the empire, who was, at the same time, hostile to the clergy, disdainful towards the army, partial to none but Prussians, and, in a word, averse to everything national. She became the soul of a plot framed for this purpose, and Orloff was her principal instru-

* Taken at the battle of Zorndorf, in 1758.

† See our article on her in the "Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde."

ment. She had, moreover, found auxiliaries in every quarter: we read in a diplomatic despatch of the time, that there was scarcely any distinguished statesman at St. Petersburg who was not implicated, to a certain degree, in this conspiracy. Panin, the minister of foreign affairs, loved the Princess Daschkoff as his own daughter, and felt only contempt for the ineptitude of Peter: Count Cyril Rasoumofski, the hetman of the Cossacks, likewise entered into the views of the friend of the grand-duchess, and the same may be said of the two Counts Tchernycheff, Prince Volkonski, Baron Stroganoff, Count de Bruce, and several other personages of the court.

During a reign of six months, Peter III. had set a great part of the nation against him; he had hardly any other supporters than Field-Marshal Munnich, and a few thousand men forming his own corps of Holstein troops. Whilst he was shutting himself up at Oranienbaum, deliberating with a few friends on the means of appeasing the storm which he perceived to be brewing, the Princess Daschkoff was actively prosecuting her designs. Peter had just caused Passek, an officer in the guards, to be arrested, for having uttered suspicious language; this measure made the conspirators understand the necessity of preventing other arrests that might be taken against them. They assembled at the house of the princess, and it was decided that the insurrection should begin immediately.

On the 8th of July (June 27th), 1762, a post-chaise departed from the capital at eleven o'clock at night for the palace of Peterhoff, where Catherine resided.* The traveller was a man in disguise, and no other than Gregory Orloff,† who, being acquainted with the most secret parts of that residence, was able to enter it without exciting attention. He alighted at a private spot, and hastened to the empress to inform her of what was passing, and to assure her that everything was ripe for a revolution. At this news Catherine did not hesitate an instant; she disguised herself in her turn, ordered her confidential waiting-woman to follow her, descended with the young Grand-Duke Paul by a secret staircase, and entered the chaise, which instantly returned by the same road to St. Petersburg, where Orloff's brothers and the other

* Independently of Rulhière and different histories of Peter III., the reader may consult, on this head, Castéra's "Histoire de Catherine II.," t. i. p. 312, *et seq.*

† According to other accounts, especially those of Rulhière and Castéra, it was Alexis Orloff. Gregory, according to them, had passed the night in lulling into security the vigilance of Peter's agent charged to keep watch over the conspirators, and had remained playing and drinking with him till after midnight. After which he had gone to meet the grand-duchess.

conspirators came forth to meet her. It was seven o'clock in the morning when they entered the town.

Handfuls of gold had been distributed among the different regiments of the guard, and copious draughts of brandy had bound the soldiers more firmly to their commanders. The first visit was paid to the quarters of the regiment of Izmaïloff, of which Count Rasoumofski was colonel, and whither the Princess Daschkoff had repaired, on her side, surrounded by her partisans. The example of the companies that they had already gained over, and the voice of the priest who received their oath, prevailed upon the entire corps, which was shortly joined by other regiments of the guard. Villebois, uncertain at first, finally declared, also, for Catherine. The inhabitants of the town were awakened by the report of a revolution. Rasoumofski conducted Catherine to the cathedral of Our Lady of Kasan, where the clergy were desirous of a change. The Archbishop of Novogorod seconded the enterprise; arrayed in his sacerdotal robes and surrounded by priests, he welcomed the grand-duchess, proclaimed her empress-regent, and her son Paul heir to the throne; after which he gave out the *Te Deum*.* Catherine was accompanied by an applauding multitude as far as the palace, where she immediately received the homage of the court, the functionaries, and the leaders of the army then present in the citadel. They published in the streets of the town that the emperor had been killed accidentally, and that his widow would assume the reins of government, as the guardian of her son. She, however, was fully resolved to reign on her own account, and notwithstanding the state of her figure,† she mounted on horseback, after having dressed herself in the uniform of the chevalier-guards. Followed by a brilliant escort she then presented herself boldly before the troops, by whom she was received with loud and continual *hourras*, in which the people joined.

Her party increased every hour, and regiments arrived from without, declaring in her favour. The abdication of the emperor was announced in a manifesto; and a party of troops was sent to Oranienbaum in order to arrest that unfortunate prince, who was incapable of saving himself by any energetic resolution. It is well known that he was put to a cruel death a few days afterwards.

This audacious enterprise, almost unparalleled in history, on account of the two principal personages of this sanguinary drama being so closely connected, had just been crowned with the most

* *Boje tsara khrani.*

† The child to which she gave birth, and of which Orloff was the father, received later the title of Count Bobrinski. See Castéra, t. ii. p. 231, and t. iii. p. 104.

complete success. A proclamation, of which nobody was the dupe, says a contemporary, the Count de Ségur,* attributed the violent death of Peter III. to the decrees of Providence, and to an illness of which he was said to have had frequent attacks.

"It was by this strange concurrence of events," adds the French diplomatist, "that the daughter of a petty German prince became the sovereign of a great empire. Catherine II. escaping a divorce and a prison, and reaching the throne by the address of an acute mind and the efforts of a few bold conspirators, managed to maintain herself upon that dangerous throne, by displaying the prudence of an enlightened genius, and the firmness of a superior character."

Next to the empress, it was the Orloff family that derived the greatest advantages from the change. Catherine, prodigal in rewarding all those by whose help she had gained the throne,† was especially so towards the man whom she loved. Gregory Orloff, already honoured with the riband of St. Alexander Nevski, was at once promoted to the rank of major-general, and, at the same time, appointed to the dignity of chamberlain: the empress made him, as also his brothers, a present of several hundreds of serfs, and, on the 22nd of September, she conferred on them all the title of count. With respect to Gregory, she went still further, naming him successively her general aide-de-camp, commander of the chevalier-guards and lieutenant-colonel of the horse-guards, general-in-chief and grand-master of the artillery.‡ Being an acknowledged favourite, he had a residence close to the palace, and his seat on the steps of the throne. She caused the marble palace to be built for him, and bestowed on him the entire property of the castle of Ropcha with 4000 peasants; besides which, he alone, at that period, had the right of wearing the portrait of Catherine on his breast.

Thus loaded with dignities and riches, and consulted by the empress on every important occasion, Gregory was the second person in the empire. Then, perceiving how incomplete his education had been, he endeavoured to remedy it by every kind of study. He had much talent; but, being naturally frivolous, he could not endure any long application; he had but little taste for business, and was devoid of that well-regulated mind which its management requires. As to the rest, he was polite, benevolent, and

* "Mémoires ou Souvenirs et Anecdotes," t. ii. p. 207.

† The Princess Daschkoff was honoured with the riband of St. Catherine; but she wanted also to be named colonel of the Préobrajensk regiment. Being vexed at the refusal she received on this point, she was offended with the empress, and withdrew to Moscow.

‡ In 1766, in place of Villebois.

affable to everybody; and his gentle, good-natured, easy disposition was calculated to make him beloved by the court.

His connexion with the empress lasted a long time. Seriously enamoured of him, she had some idea of consecrating this attachment by a secret union. But being more ambitious on this point than he was covetous of power, the grand-master of the artillery is said not to have accepted the proposal that was made to him. Believing himself sure of Catherine's affections, and relying on the attachment of the guard; supported moreover by his brothers, who had likewise a powerful party, he raised his views as high as the throne, and ventured to demand that the marriage should be made known. Perhaps he would have obtained his object, had it not been for the constant opposition of Catherine's principal councillors, Panin, Tchernycheff, Rasoumofski, and Woronzow, but especially had it not been for certain acts of misconduct which a woman, even though not of supreme rank, can scarcely forgive. Catherine was keenly alive to this; and Orloff's enemies, who noticed it, took advantage of this state of her feelings to give him a rival.

After eight years of happiness, sometimes interrupted by quarrels—wounded pride, perhaps, lassitude also—Catherine gradually estranged herself from her too confident favourite; and, in spite of the empire which events had given him over her, she ultimately thought of removing him.

Though disappointed in his hopes, Gregory Orloff did not renounce that of adorning his brow with a crown. He conceived at first the project of creating a kingdom for himself on the shores of the Caspian Sea; next, he meditated raising Greece into an independent state for his own profit, and, for this purpose, turned all the efforts of Russian policy against Turkey.

Gregory's noble conduct, when the plague was desolating Moscow, in 1771, rekindled for a moment in the heart of Catherine the tender passion which she had formerly entertained. The duty he was then performing was not free from danger: not only was the distemper contagious and spreading further and further with frightful rapidity, without the physicians being able to find any remedy, but it had also excited violent feelings among the people and inspired them with the most superstitious fears. Orloff, naturally kind-hearted,* had also the courage to go and brave both the plague and the superstition.† He arrived too late at Moscow

* "He hated nobody, though he was much hated."—Castéra, t. ii. p. 233.

† In one of Catherine's letters to Voltaire (xciv.), she assures him that the grand-master had entreated, as a favour, to be sent to Moscow, in order to see on the spot what were the most suitable arrangements

to save the life of the worthy Archbishop Ambrosius,* but he immediately took the wisest measures. "He prohibited," says Castéra,† "and prevented every kind of meeting. He visited himself those who were attacked by the malady, procured them the assistance they needed, and took especial care to order the surgeons and officers by whom he was seconded, to cause the clothes of the patients, who died victims of this terrible scourge, to be burnt in their presence. The malady yielded at length to Gregory Orloff's unremitting care and to the cold of winter; but it had already destroyed nearly 100,000 of the inhabitants of Moscow.

When Count Orloff returned to St. Petersburg he was received with enthusiasm. Catherine caused a medal to be struck in honour of him, and a triumphal arch to be erected at Tsarko-Sélo; she loaded him with favours as a sovereign, and became for a moment once more the most tender mistress. Being reinstated in all his rights as favourite, Gregory was in a position again to indulge his ambitious dreams.

However, his embassy to Wallachia, in 1772, to attempt to conclude, conjointly with Oberskoff, a peace with the Turks, was again the cause of another coolness. The negotiations at the congress of Fokchani were but very slowly progressing, on account of the basis adopted by the Russians and rejected by the Turks,‡ when Orloff, hearing that the Empress had replaced him by a new favourite, hastened to break them off, and departed immediately for St. Petersburg, where his absence had given his adversaries the advantage. But, before he arrived, he received orders to retire directly to his estate at Gatchina.§ He obeyed, in an agony of vexation. However, at the end of a few months, the representations made to him by his ancient mistress, and the presents with which she accompanied them, appeased his anger. Catherine sent him the diploma of Prince of the Holy Empire, which she had obtained for him from the Emperor Joseph II.,‖ and added to this title the designation of Highness (*Svetlosh*); moreover, she made him a present of 10,000 peasants and settled upon him a pension of 150,000 roubles.

For some time all went on well; Orloff even returned to the capital without the repose of the empress, then enamoured of

to be made to stop that disorder. "I have consented to this most noble and zealous action on his part," says she, "but not without feeling very anxious concerning the danger he is about to encounter."

* See further, Note (7).

† T. ii. p. 221.

‡ The independence of the Crim Tartars.

§ See Castéra, t. ii. p. 236.

‖ It is dated the 4th of October, 1772.

Vassiltchikoff, appearing to be troubled by it. But new difficulties shortly arose, and the prince received a hint to go and fix his residence at Rével. He did not remain there long. Ennui made him desire to visit foreign lands. He travelled throughout Germany and France; but his restless mind soon after induced him to return to Russia, where Catherine, then wavering between different interests, gave him an eager welcome. She seemed overjoyed to behold him again, revived her ancient intimacy with him, and withstood the advice of Panin, who was obstinately bent on removing the favourite.

Catherine, who was so great as a sovereign, by her wonderful energy, her superior understanding, her vast conceptions, her skill in conducting business and managing men, was, as a woman, the slave of the senses. To enable her to surmount the remains of an attachment which was for ever leading her back to her former lover, the surest way was to make her forget him in the arms of another. Her shrewd minister felt this, and had recourse to these means. He had already contributed to raise Vassiltchikoff into favour; but that connexion did not last two years. Another attachment, of far greater stability, was destined to break it off; and Panin did not fail to abet it.

Ever since her accession to the throne, the empress had not lost sight of a handsome officer, who, as a member of the conspiracy, had been able to approach her on the very day when she was disputing the crown with her husband: seeing the sword of the princess was without its ornamental knot, he had hastened to offer her his own, and had been detained for a moment by her side in consequence of the obstinacy of his horse. This officer was Potemkin,* one of Orloff's companions, but younger than he by two or three years. Owing to the care of Gregory's enemies, Catherine had again lately seen this young man, whose handsome countenance and dignified carriage had formerly engaged her attention; and this time he had produced upon her the most favourable impression. For some time Orloff contended advantageously against this formidable rival; and Potemkin, though supported by the minister, was, for a moment, dismissed; but at length he gained the upper hand. During the absence of the prince, Potemkin was installed in the palace and publicly acknowledged as favourite, in 1774. The ascendency he acquired over his imperial mistress and the extraordinary degree of power to which he rose, are well known.

From that moment Orloff found his residence at St. Petersburg insupportable. He withdrew from court, as did also his brother Alexis; after which, he espoused his young cousin Tsinovieff, and

* See, for an account of him, Ségur, t. iii. p. 343, *et seq.*

again set out on his travels. After visiting France and Italy, he stopped at Lausanne, where he had the misfortune to lose his wife (in 1782), by whom he had no children. This loss occasioned a fit of melancholy, which grew into insanity. "At one time," says Castéra,* "he would indulge in extravagant levity, which excited the mirth of the courtiers; at another, he would utter such reproaches against the empress, that all those who heard them shuddered, and she herself was overcome with confusion and sorrow." He was prevailed upon to retire to Moscow, where he lived a few months longer, tormented by the phantoms of his imagination, and by vexatious thoughts which he in vain endeavoured to banish. At length, after a long and painful agony, death put an end to his sufferings in the month of April, 1785.

After having given these particulars about Gregory Orloff, we may be allowed to be more brief in what relates to the other brothers.

Alexis Grigoriévitch, the third, was remarkable for his lofty stature, athletic form, muscular power, and surprising agility. An enormous gash, which he had received in the face during a quarrel, had not completely effaced the primitive beauty of his features; in other respects, he was simple and kind in his manners, and, like his brother, extremely polite and benevolent in social intercourse.

Having been born in 1737, he was nearly twenty-six years old when Peter III. ascended the throne, but he was then only subaltern in a regiment of the guard. We have already seen what part he played in the revolution of 1762: according to some authors, it was he, and not his brother Gregory, who went to fetch Catherine at Peterhoff; it is certain, at all events, that nobody shewed, on that occasion, more audacity and guilty eagerness. The emperor, being incapable of following the advice of Munnich, attempted to fly; but he fell into the hands of his enemies. Alexis Orloff was appointed to guard him, and, according to all probability, it was he, in concert with two of his fellow officers, Téploff and Prince Foëdor Bariatinski, who put an end to his life, in the Castle of Ropcha, we would fain believe without the knowledge of the empress, but, at all events, without incurring her disgrace by this ferocious deed, the particulars of which are said to have been horrible.

The young sovereign loaded him, on the contrary, with honours and riches. Alexis Orloff, from being merely an under-officer, was named count, honoured with the order of St. Alexander Nevski, and became major-general and second major of the guard of

* T. ii. p. 149.

Preobrajensk. His brother's high fortune contributed, moreover, to his own: he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and chosen for general aide-de-camp; at the same time he received the key as chamberlain, and, in 1768, the riband of St. Andrew, the highest order in the empire.

The war against the Turks, which broke out in that same year, furnished him an opportunity of justifying such an extraordinary promotion.* However, Count Alexis had never been in battle; he possessed neither the experience nor the knowledge necessary for directing the operations of an army. On the other hand, his pride did not allow him to serve under the orders of another. So he submitted to Catherine the plan of a naval expedition in the Archipelago. Two squadrons were, accordingly, sent thither, one under Admiral Spiridoff, and the other under John Elphinstone, an English naval officer of great merit. Furnished with full powers, though he had never commanded a ship, Alexis Orloff was, if necessary, to unite them both under his own command; however, his official title was only that of general of the land forces.† He had the good sense to listen to the advice of his English lieutenant; and, although he failed for the most part in his attempts against the Morea, where his brother Foëdor, another upstart general, whom he had taken in his company, was beaten more than once, the expedition succeeded, on the whole, beyond all hope. The Turks were vanquished in a naval battle; and their admiral had the imprudence to take refuge with his fleet in the shallow and narrow strait of Tchesmé, on the coast of Asia-Minor, opposite the island of Chios. Elphinstone and Greig pursued him there; and a third Englishman, Dugdale, had the courage to conduct a fire-ship into the very middle of the hostile squadron, which was completely destroyed by fire in the night of the 6th of July, 1770. This naval achievement, unheard of in Russian annals, acquired immense fame throughout Europe, and covered the name of Orloff with glory. Catherine loaded the conqueror with rewards: she ordered him to assume the surname of Tchesmenskoï, conferred on him the grand-cross of the military order of St. George, the only distinction that has never been lavished in Russia, and offered him a present of 100,000 roubles.

But she sent him orders, at the same time, not to leave the

* The Russian biographers, Bantysch-Kamenski, for instance, do not hesitate, in their incredible servility, to attribute this fortune to Orloff's own merit, and pass over all the rest in silence.

† See Catherine II.'s correspondence with Voltaire (Letter lvii.). The empress gives therein many particulars about the battle of Tchesmé. She also takes pleasure in relating whatever does honour to the character of Orloff. See, also, Letter lxxii.

Archipelago without her express permission.* She was afraid of the enterprising spirit of Alexis at a time when she was beginning to break off her intimacy with his brother, and thinking of taking a new favourite. Alexis, therefore, remained, employed himself with the blockade of the Dardanelles, made himself master of several islands, but failed before Lemnos, which was assisted by the Ottoman fleet under Hassan Bey. Then leaving the command with Admiral Spiridoff, he went into Italy on a secret mission. At Leghorn, the Princess Tarakanoff, the daughter of the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna and Count Alexis Rasoumofski, fell into his power by a perfidious abuse of confidence; that unfortunate lady, taken in a snare, was carried off to Russia, where she passed the remainder of her days in prison. Orloff returned to the Archipelago; but the campaign of 1771 ended without any remarkable result, and the following occurrences were still less important.

Notwithstanding this insignificant termination of a war which had cast so much momentary glory upon Russia, Count Orloff received the most brilliant welcome at St. Petersburg, when he returned after the conclusion of the peace (in 1774). The empress, who had already promoted him to the rank of general-in-chief, loaded him with wealth; all the arts had to contribute to celebrate his name, and we may see even now in the park of Tsarsko-Sélo the rostral column raised in his honour.

However, Orloff Tchesmenskoï, being a witness of the coolness of the empress towards his brother, was keenly affected by it. He was unable to conceal his hatred towards Potemkin, Prince Gregory's happy rival, and it is even stated that he had so violent a quarrel with him, that the new favourite lost an eye in the scuffle.

After Gregory's disgrace, Alexis, like him, found a residence at court insupportable. He withdrew to Moscow, where he lived in great style, displaying a magnificent hospitality,† and attending especially to his *haras*, where he raised a numerous breed of horses, still in great repute in Russia. After his brother's death, the empress, as a final favour, bestowed upon Alexis her portrait, that Gregory had worn, a special distinction, which none other but Potemkin enjoyed.

From that time the conqueror of Tchesmé had scarcely ever left his retirement, when, after the death of Catherine in 1796, he suddenly received an order to repair to St. Petersburg. Having

* Castéra (t. ii. p. 195) nevertheless states that Orloff went to enjoy his triumph at St. Petersburg, and that he arrived there on the 15th of March, 1771; that he went afterwards to Leghorn, passing through Vienna.

† Which Coxe the traveller enjoyed in 1782.

decided to have his father's remains removed from the convent of St. Alexander Nevski to the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, the new emperor was determined that such of Peter's murderers as were alive at that period, Alexis Orloff and Prince Bariatinski,* should figure in the expiatory ceremony. They supported each a corner of the pall that covered the body of their victim, and their countenances are said to have borne witness to that eternal justice whose hand, though sometimes invisible, nevertheless leaves no crime unpunished.

On returning home, the count found an order which forbade him to prolong his residence in the capital. With some difficulty he obtained permission to travel, and went to pass some time in Germany. After the death of Paul, he returned to his native land, and again inhabited his mansion at Moscow, which is situated on the charming hills bordering the Moskva, in the suburb called Serpoukhofskaïa, where he terminated his career in January 1808, leaving his only daughter a colossal fortune.† This daughter, Countess Anne Alexéïevna Orloff Tchesmenskoï, has never been married. Honoured with the friendship of the present emperor and empress, we have seen her fulfilling the functions of maid of honour during the coronation; and her extreme piety did not prevent her from giving, on that occasion, one of the most brilliant *fêtes* that the city of Moscow ever witnessed.

The fourth brother of the Orloffs was Foëdor Grigoriévitch, born on the 8th of February, 1741 (old style). He is said to have been superior to Alexis and Gregory in his education and learning. He was indebted to the revolution of 1762 for his rank of captain in the Séménoff regiment; however, he afterwards entered the civil career where he rose to the grade of chief-attorney to the senate. But when Count Alexis departed for Greece and the Archipelago, Foëdor desired to accompany him. Reinstated at that time in the army with the rank of general, he commanded the troops landed in the peninsula of the Morea, in 1770. At first he gained a few advantages; but afterwards the resistance he met with from the garrisons of Coron, Modon, and Tripolitza, arrested his progress; and, being ill-supported by the Greeks serving under his flag, he was beaten on several occasions. At length he found himself obliged to re-embark his soldiers, and he thus abandoned the unfortunate rebels to all the vengeance of

* He died at Moscow on the 4th of June, 1814, after having been grand-master of the court under Catherine II. He was brother to Prince Ivan Serghéïevitch Bariatinski, a clever diplomatist, and Russian ambassador at Paris, from 1773 to 1785.

† Stated to be 5,000,000 of roubles in specie, independently of 32,000 peasants.

the Turks. Notwithstanding this ill-success, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and honoured with the order of St. George (2nd class). He died at Moscow on the 17th of May, 1796, without leaving any legitimate children; but we shall have to speak further of the natural sons to whom he transmitted his name.

Lastly, the fifth brother, Vladimir Grigoriévitch, studied at Leipsic, and served at first in the guard, in which he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1766, his love of literature caused him to be appointed director of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, which honourable post he occupied till 1774. According to Count d'Almagro, he lived till the year 1832; but we are entirely without any particulars relating to the rest of his career. Besides a daughter, married to a Count Panin,* he had a son who was known as an author, and about whom we must say a few words.

Count Gregory Vladimirovitch Orloff was born at St. Petersburg, in 1777. The state of his health obliging him to seek a milder climate than that of this capital, he passed a great portion of his life in foreign countries. He cultivated literature and the fine arts in Paris, and also at Naples and in other towns of Italy, where he surrounded himself with distinguished authors, artists, scholars and others, and was received member of different academies and learned societies. In 1812, he was appointed senator, but could not resolve to fix his residence in Russia. However, he returned thither after the accession of Nicholas, and died a short time afterwards, of a violent attack of apoplexy, on the 4th of July 1826.

Aided by different writers, Count Orloff, who wrote French with much facility, and had adorned his mind with various knowledge, published the following works: "Mémoires historiques, politiques, et littéraires sur le Royaume de Naples," with notes and additions by D'Amaury Duval, 2nd edition, Paris, 1825, 5 vols. 8vo.; "Essai sur l'Histoire de la Musique en Italie," *ibid.*, 1822, 2 vols., 8vo.; "Essai sur l'Histoire de la Peinture en Italie," *ibid.*, 1823, 2 vols. 8vo.; "Voyage dans une partie de la France," *ibid.*, 1824, 3 vols. 8vo.; and, lastly, "Fables Russes," translated from Kryloff into French and Italian, Paris, 1825, 2 vols. 8vo. Count Orloff's wife, by birth Countess Saltikoff, an amateur, like him, of literature and the arts, had a great share in this last publication.

Count Gregory Vladimirovitch was himself the last legitimate male descendant of the Orloffs, and he left no posterity. The family was, therefore, on the point of becoming extinct; "how-

* We know not whether this be the lady whom they have made the St. Catherine of Russia.

ever," says Prince Peter Dolgorouki, "Count Foëdor left several natural children, on whom Catherine II. conferred nobility and the name of Orloff." Among them are men of great distinction.

Michael Foëdorovitch Orloff, born about 1785, early embraced the career of arms, and had the rank of colonel when he arrived with the first Russian bodies of troops before Paris in 1814. The fight which his father-in-law, General Raïefski, had to maintain to get possession of the heights of Belleville, is well known. The capitulation of Paris was the fatal consequence of the 30th of March, and the name of Michael Orloff figures among the signatures on that act signed on the 31st. Afterwards he returned to France (in 1815,) and remained a long time at Nancy as head of the staff of the Russian army encamped in the neighbourhood. Alexander had appointed him to be his aide-de-camp, and he was later promoted to the rank of major-general.

Orloff, endowed with intelligence, education, and noble sentiments, and gifted, moreover, with a fervent character, was keenly struck with the vicious condition of his country. He ventured more than once to speak of it to the Emperor Alexander, pointed out to him the numerous abuses committed in the administration, and went so far as to represent to him the necessity of giving a constitution to his empire. However, being a somewhat exclusive patriot, he did not see without jealousy the Poles put in possession of a part of their ancient liberties, and is said to have opposed the monarch's favourable inclinations towards them, in a kind of protest to which he obtained the signatures of several generals and other men of distinction; for, in Russia, this inclination of Alexander's was generally disapproved, especially on account of the intention which the emperor had announced of restoring to the kingdom of Poland several of her ancient provinces that had long been united to the empire, and some of which, moreover, had formerly been dismembered from it.

On his return to Moscow, General Orloff made the acquaintance of Count Mamonoff, an estimable patriot, who, in 1812, had given an example of sacrifices, and put a great portion of his fortune at the emperor's disposal. Mamonoff had belonged, in his youth, to the ancient freemasonry, which was much in vogue in the reign of Catherine II.: he imparted the knowledge of its organization and principles to Orloff, who, being of an enthusiastic disposition, thought soon of nothing but secret associations and political reforms. As we have said, he endeavoured to found at St. Petersburg, with M. Nicholas Tourgueneff, who, relates to us this fact,* the *Society of Russian Knights*, and both

* "La Russie et les Russes," t. i. p. 223. This work of M. Tourgue-

of them afterwards entered the *union of public welfare*, from which, however, they withdrew a few years afterwards.

The general's frequent observations had at length become importunate to the emperor, and he had appointed him to the command of a division in the second army (that of the south). There, Orloff was far from losing sight of his projects of reform. He strove hard and made great pecuniary sacrifices to propagate mutual instruction, according to the Lancastrian system, not only among the children of the troops and the soldiers of his division, but also among the youth of the towns where this division was quartered. "His endeavours," says M. Tourgueneff, "soon produced very satisfactory results; but they turned ultimately to his detriment, as also to the detriment of those in favour of whom those noble efforts had been made."

We have already related what was the fate of General Michael Orloff after the discovery of the conspiracy. Since then, a report of his death had been spread; but in M. Tourgueneff's book, published a few weeks ago, we read these words: "At present, the general is occupied with material interests, with manufactories; he is writing books on finance. . . As to the rest, I like to picture him in my mind such as I knew him formerly, noble, generous, and devoted to the public welfare."

Count Alexis Foëdorovitch Orloff, now general-in-chief, member of the council of the empire, and the confidant of the Emperor Nicholas, is brother to the preceding. He was born in 1787, entered the guard early in life,* and having reached the rank of colonel, which, in this chosen troop, gives the grade of major-general, he had, in 1825, the command of the five regiments of the horse-guards, with which he was the first to hasten to the Place of the Winter Palace, at the moment of the revolt on the 26th of December. This was a service of immense importance to the new sovereign, and, as we have said, it occasioned the very special favour he afterwards enjoyed.

Being created count of the empire a few days afterwards, and

nieff's, mentioned before, has at length appeared, We shall say a few words about it in Note (23), at the end of this volume.

* According to M. Capefigue ("Les Diplomates et Hommes d'état Européens," t. iii.), he served in Platoff's light cavalry, and, in 1815, had been sent on a delicate mission relative to the execution of the treaty of Kiel. But that intelligent author, often well-informed, in this instance confounds on every occasion Alexis Orloff with his brother Michael; most of the facts attributed to the former relate, on the contrary, to the latter. In the same book (t. iii. p. 308) we read this strange line:—"With his own hands (Count A. Orloff, Gregory's brother) strangled the *young Emperor Alexis*, in his prison:" but this can be only an inadvertence of the moment.

chosen as general aide-de-camp, he was shortly promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general; later, he was called to the council of the empire, placed at the head of a division of the guard, appointed successor to Count de Benkendorff, as commander of the gendarmes, intrusted with the command of the emperor's head-quarters, and lastly, promoted still further to the grade of general-in-chief of the cavalry.

This rapid career is thus accounted for: Count Orloff had become one of the intimate circle in the palace, and Nicholas made him the principal instrument of his personal policy. Whenever he was unwilling to leave a delicate business to his ordinary diplomatic agents, the monarch intrusted it to the care of this devoted servant, of whom it has justly been said that he sees questions less with his own eyes than with his master's. "He carries obedience to its extreme limits," adds a writer; "he executes just as thought reveals itself, quickly and well."* He combines moreover with a superior intelligence a great firmness of mind and the most honourable character.

It would be too tedious to enter into a detail of the particular missions already intrusted to Count Orloff: let us confine ourselves to a few notices.

In leaving this faithful servant with the army acting against the Turks, the emperor commissioned him beforehand to effect, conjointly with Diebitsch, the general-in-chief, and Count Frederick de Pahlen,† the privy councillor, the negotiations of peace when the proper moment of entering into them should arrive. The conference began at Adrianople, on the 30th of August, 1829, and the treaty, more glorious for Russia than the earlier operations of the war had seemed to warrant, was signed on the 14th of September following. Soon after, Orloff was employed to carry to the Sultan an autograph letter from the czar, and renewed the diplomatic relations between the two powers. In 1831, he was sent by his sovereign to the army of Poland. There, the beginning of the campaign was not more brilliant than that of 1828. In spite of the victory of Ostrolenka, the Russians were still far from Warsaw, and serious complaints arose on all sides against Field-Marshal Diebitsch, whose German origin caused him to be looked upon with distrust by an army astonished at his ill success. The emperor, in order to obtain an exact account of the position of things, sent his confidential aide-de-camp to the spot; but a few days after the count's arrival, Diebitsch died. Some attributed this event to an attack of cholera; according to others, the health of the field-marshal,

* Capefigue, "Les Diplomates," t. iii. p. 306.

† An honest man, and justly esteemed.

being already worn out by immoderate drinking and extreme fatigue, could not withstand the mortification he felt at this interference of the chief of the empire in the operations of war. Perhaps also Orloff had the task of announcing to Diebitsch that he was shortly to be superseded. Whatever may have been the true cause of this sudden death, it gave rise to absurd reports against Orloff, which gained, however, the greater credit, that the Grand-duke Constantine died likewise a few days afterwards. This coincidence appeared suspicious; unworthy surmises arose even against the head of the empire, and especially against his emissary; but the well-known characters of both ought to have sheltered them from such gratuitously odious imputations.* For the rest, we are assured that neither Orloff nor his master was affected by them: the former used to laugh about them among his intimate friends, and jocularly apply to himself the title of *poisoner*, which slander had attempted to attach to his name.

From the camp of Pultusk, the general aide-de-camp repaired to Berlin, passing through the sanitary posts which were to protect Prussia against the approach of the cholera. A short time afterwards, he gave his master a new proof of absolute devotion, by accompanying him to the military colonies, where the soldiers, in open rebellion, had massacred their commanders, and were capable of carrying things to extremity against the emperor himself. This danger did not daunt the courageous sovereign: accompanied by his faithful Orloff, he appeared suddenly before the rebels, spoke to them authoritatively, intimidated them by his boldness, obtained their submission, and inflicted a severe chastisement upon the guilty.

In 1833, the Eastern question, as is well known, suddenly assumed immense importance by the revolt of the Pacha of Egypt against his sovereign lord the Sultan. Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet-Ali, crossed the Taurus at the head of an army, and marched upon Constantinople. Without losing an instant,† the Russian

* The author of the "Révélations," nevertheless, repeats them very seriously (French transl., t. i. p. 39). After speaking of the death of the Grand-Duke Constantine (June 27th, 1831) and that of Diebitsch (June 10th), he expresses himself as follows:—"There exists an individual whom the public voice stigmatizes as the instrument of those dark events. His visit to certain persons, or his arrival at the place where they were, was indeed almost always the forerunner of their sudden disappearance!" M. de Custine (t. iii. p. 216) seems likewise to have seriously attended to these preposterous reports, accredited by blind malevolence or unexampled levity. In laying as true the most evidently false rumours to the account of Russia, are not judicious readers compelled to doubt of all, and to consider as idle tales whatever may appear to them extraordinary in the facts related concerning this empire?

† The Russian government was unwilling that there should be a reno-

government sent with all speed a preliminary corps of 5,000 men to protect the Porte; and the general command of these troops, as also of the fleet, was intrusted to Count Orloff, who arrived on the 5th of May in the Ottoman capital, with the title of ambassador extraordinary, furnished with the most extensive powers. Owing to the efforts of the European powers, this Russian intervention was useless: the pacha yielded to the remonstrances that were made to him, and the Egyptian army withdrew. The czar, on his side, immediately recalled his auxiliary corps. On this occasion he wrote to Orloff the following remarkable lines: "When Divine Providence has placed a man at the head of 60,000,000 of his fellow-creatures, it is in order that he may give a higher example of fidelity in keeping his word, and of a scrupulous performance of his promises." Indeed, the speedy retreat of the Russians cut short all the protests suggested by political jealousies. However, the ambassador did not withdraw before he had bound Turkey in an alliance with Russia, by the famous treaty of Unkiar-Iskelessi (July 8th, 1833), against which the maritime powers immediately protested, and which the protocol of the 13th of July, 1841, at length reduced to nothing.

General Orloff moreover performed many other special missions, especially at the Hague and in London, whither he was drawn by the Holland and Belgian question. After the death of Prince Christopher de Lieven (1839), he replaced him in his duties as travelling companion to the grand-duke and heir, who, then very near attaining his majority, terminated his travels under the protection of the general. The latter afterwards accompanied his master in his visit to London, in June, 1844; and, towards the end of 1845, went with him to Palermo, whence he departed to prepare the way for him to the capital of the Christian world.*

Lastly, being the faithful companion of the czar in all his travels, Orloff was again by his side on the day when Nicholas was for a moment in danger of losing his life, on passing the Niemen. The monarch wished to go and rejoin his brother, the Grand-Duke Michael, and conduct him to Warsaw. On the 9th of December, 1846, he quitted Kovno during the night, and approached the river, then covered half across with a thin coat of

vation of the Ottoman empire effected by the Egyptians; with respect to the Turks, her maxim appears to us to be expressed by the words "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*"

* The interview between the czar and Pope Gregory XVI. took place on the 13th of December. The dignified attitude which the pontiff assumed before him is well known. Nicholas retired from the interview in much emotion. The following words relating to him are attributed to Cardinal Lambruschini:—"Ha negato molto, promesso poco, e farà nulla."

ice. To facilitate the passage, two lines of planks had been laid down on the ice as far as the ferry-boat, which the travellers were afterwards to enter. The scene was lighted by a number of torches from the banks of the Niemen. The emperor was in his carriage with the count: he had been advised to remain there quietly. But in descending from the top of the high bank, the berlin broke through the ice with its fore wheels, and seemed likely to fall headlong into the river. With one bound, the aide-de-camp was upon his feet; but, whilst the emperor was preparing to follow his example, the carriage sank lower and lower. Nicholas was obliged to take refuge upon the coach-box, from which he mounted upon the shoulders of the commandant of the town, who was up to his middle in water; then, taking a spring, he leaped to land, and escaped the danger.

Being inseparable from his person, and connected with the memory of past events, Count Alexis Orloff is a true friend to him; the monarch treats him as such, and testifies the utmost confidence towards him in every circumstance. He has seen him by his side in the most critical moments of his life, never failing him for an instant, devoting himself to peril to think only of his master, and combining, it is said, with this uncommon devotion, the merit, still more rare in Russia, of exemplary probity and the most noble disinterestedness. Founded on such titles, the favour which the count enjoys ought to be safe from court intrigues and from the effects of that inconstancy of the human heart, against which, however, the firmest characters are not always sufficiently guarded.

Note (3), Page 5.

FIELD-MARSHAL PRINCE OF WITTGENSTEIN.

The illustrious family of Sayn-Wittgenstein, which, formerly immediately subject to the Holy Empire, now occupies a distinguished rank in the order of the lords of the Prussian province of Westphalia, is divided into two branches, one termed Wittgenstein-Berlebourg, and the other Wittgenstein-Wittgenstein, or Hohenstein. The heads of these two branches are invested with the title of prince.

Louis-Adolphus-Peter, Count Wittgenstein-Berlebourg, belonged to a particular line (that of Louisbourg) issuing from the former branch. He was born on the 6th of January, 1769, entered the Russian service at an early age, following his father's example, and was promoted in 1806 to the rank of general; at

the same time he was named commander of the regiment of the Marioupol huzzars. Being charged with the command of the vanguard of a division, in the campaign of 1807, he supported with some advantage, a skirmish with the French on the 30th of April. In 1812, being invested with the grade of lieutenant-general, he was placed at the head of the first corps of the army of the West under Barclay de Tolly, who, encamped on the Duna, was to cover St. Petersburg. In the presence of skilful and experienced generals, such as the Duke de Reggio and Gouvion St. Cyr, he proved himself worthy of such adversaries: the resistance he opposed to them in a battle at Kliastitsy, near Polotsk, which lasted three days, (August 18th, 19th, and 20th) forced them to abandon the road to St. Petersburg. St. Cyr found himself obliged to repass the Duna. Wittgenstein advanced in the direction of Vitebsk, and, though attacked in his position of Smolnia, by Marshal Victor, on the 15th of November, maintained his ground with energy and drove back the French troops.

These glorious services acquired for Count Wittgenstein the rank of general-in-chief of the cavalry. After the death of Koutosoff, he was invested provisionally with the command of the Russian and Prussian armies: it was under his auspices that General York fought the battle of Moeckern (Saxony) with the French on the 5th of April, 1813; and it was also he who commanded the allies in the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, where Napoleon remained conqueror.

In the following month of June, an armistice suspended hostilities for a short time. When they were resumed, the count, still at the head of the Russian army, was placed under the command of Prince Schwarzenberg. He assisted at the battles of Dresden, Nollendorf, and Leipsic, maintaining every where the honour of the Russian troops, as also his own reputation of a brave and skilful general. After crossing the Rhine near St. Louis, on the 2nd of January, 1814, he took a no less glorious part in the campaign of France which led the armies of the allied powers into Paris.

To testify to Wittgenstein their gratitude for the eminent service he had done them in covering St. Petersburg, the inhabitants of that city made him a present of an estate in its vicinity, and the general erected it into a majorat in order to preserve in his family the memory of this national reward.

After the restoration of peace in Europe, the Count remained at the head of a division of the army, and had his head-quarters successively at Mitau and at Toultchina. We have made known in this history, the secret plots of which the army of the South, intrusted to his keeping, was the theatre during the latter years of Alexander's reign. Nicholas had no inclination to make him

answerable for them. On the occasion of his coronation, he promoted him to the rank of field-marshal-general, and in 1828 intrusted to him the command of the Russian army intended to act against the Turks. It is well known that the beginning of that war was unsuccessful. Wittgenstein, whose energy was declining, did not act with the requisite vigour. After having advanced as far as Choumla, he was obliged to retrograde towards Wallachia. Being recalled from the command on the 18th of February of the following year, he gave it up to Baron Diebitsch, who caused the Russian flag to be again victorious.

Wittgenstein retired to his estate of Kamenka in Podolia, where he gave himself up to agriculture and the task of improving the condition of his peasants. However, the emperor made him a member of the council of the empire, and, in June, 1834, the King of Prussia conferred on him the title of prince.

The field-marshal was on his way to the waters of Wiesbaden when he died on the 11th of June, 1843. By his marriage with a Princess Radzivill, he left several sons, engaged, like their father, in the military career.

Prince Wittgenstein had merited universal esteem by his services, his loyalty, and his chivalrous character. His great capacity was equalled by his modesty; he had shewn brilliant courage in the field of battle, and his military talents had caused him to be consulted by his sovereign on several important occasions.

Note (4), Page 6.

THE POTOCKI FAMILY.

It would be making, in a manner of speaking, a whole history of Poland, if anything like a complete notice were to be devoted to this great family, which has been so engaged in all the events of its country. In the last two centuries, at least, hardly any confederation* was formed in which the name of Potocki† did not appear. We should not have room for even a mere genealogical study; so we are obliged to confine ourselves to a few hasty notes.

Like most of the formerly most influential Polish magnates, the Potocki possess estates in all the provinces of the ancient republic; the consequence is, that Russia, Austria, and Prussia, reckon them equally among their subjects; but the principal possessions

* The peculiar signification of this word in the political vocabulary of the Poles is well known.

† Pronounced Pototzki.

of this family are in Podolia and the government of Kief; and it is from a small place on the confines of Podolia and Gallicia that it derived its name.

Count *Stanislaus Felix*, the husband of the beautiful Sophia, whom we have mentioned in this history, and the grand-master of the Polish artillery, was, in the latter years of the republic, one of the richest and most powerful lords. Being a proud aristocrat, and jealous of the very great influence of the family of Czartoryiski during the reign of the last king, he was induced by ambition to become a partisan of Russia. He therefore raised an opposition to the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, and occasioned new convulsions to his unfortunate country, as leader of the confederation of Targovitza. Loaded with favours by Catherine II., but disappointed in his hopes of dominion, he withdrew from politics a short time afterwards, and died at his estate in 1805. Most of the numerous sons he left behind him entered the Russian service.

Count *Ignatius* Potocki, cousin to Felix, was, on the contrary, like his brother Stanislaus-Kotska, an ardent patriot. In concert with Malachowski, Kollontay, and the Abbé Piatoli,* he drew up the famous constitution of the 3rd of May, which was to put an end to a secular anarchy. He did, moreover, all in his power to defend Poland against her foreign enemies, and, during the latter years of independence, performed the most eminent functions. Unfortunately, all these noble efforts failed, and Ignatius Potocki died in 1809, just as Napoleon's victories were rekindling in the hearts of patriots the hope of restoring Poland under his auspices.

Count *John* Potocki, who was born in 1761, and died in 1816, was an indefatigable traveller. As a scholar, he caused his name to be known by a great number of works, doubtless full of paradoxes, but the fruit of laborious research. Some of them have been reprinted under the editorship of Klaproth. Like his brother *Séverin*, he sided with the party of Ignatius against Felix.

We need not mention Count *Venceslaus* Potocki, who erected a monument on his estate to Howard, the philanthropist, nor Count *Protus*, and a few other members of the family, the contemporaries of Count Felix.

The latter created the magnificent gardens of Sofiofka, near Oumân. We have already mentioned his immense riches: he possessed 165,000 male serfs. Now, if it be true, as Count de Lagarde† affirms, that every thousand peasants is worth as much as a million of florins, this constituted a fortune of 165,000,000

* This Italian priest, at first a preceptor in the Potocki family, exercised in Poland, and afterwards at St. Petersburg, a fascinating influence over the most distinguished men.

† "Voyage de Moscou à Vienne," p. 66.

of florins, or nearly 100,000,000 of francs (4,000,000*l.* sterling), reckoning the florin at sixty centimes. "His revenue," adds the same French author, "exceeds 8,000,000 of florins, and the administration of his estates is like a little kingdom."

As to the children of Count Felix, we have spoken in our narrative of the young Countess *Sophia*, who, according to Count Lagarde, was much like her mother, and married General Paul Kisseleff. A part of their father's fortune, valued at 60,000,000 of florins, passed into the hands of Count *Miécislaus* (Miétchislaff), whom his wife, if the newspapers are to be believed, caused to be arrested in July, 1845, for acts of violence against his young son. Count *Alexander*, his brother, figures on the list of the Poles whose estates were sequestrated in 1832. He is doubtless the person who had become the proprietor of Sofiofka, which, as we have said, having been confiscated to the crown, changed its name, so celebrated by poets, for that of *Tsaritsyn-Sad* (the emperor's garden).

As to several other Counts Potocki, who have distinguished themselves in the Russian service, we must confine ourselves to a simple enumeration. One of them was reckoned, in Alexander's reign, among the most enlightened and active members in the council of the empire; another, Count *Stanislaus*, was grand-master of the ceremonies, and figured as such in the coronation ceremony at Moscow; his son *Jaroslaff* is marshal of the court, and *Francis*, the son of Vincent, is also master of the ceremonies. The latter, like Count *Boleslaus*, the brother of Miécislaus and Alexander, have abandoned the cause of a country which, moreover, has ceased to exist; others, with a religious memory of the past, have remained faithful to it, and the late rising in 1846 did not find them indifferent.

Note (5), Page 8.

THE SALTIKOFF FAMILY.

This name, better known under the form of *Soltikoff*, is very ancient in the annals of Russia; and seems to have the same origin as that of Soltyk, which is no less illustrious in Poland. Of all the noble families, says Prince Peter Dolgorouki, that of Saltikoff reckoned the greatest number of boïars among its members. Like those of Naryschkin, Lapoukhin, and others, it gave a czarina to Russia; for Joann Alexéïevitch, the brother of Peter the Great, married Prascovie Saltikoff, who was the mother

of the Empress Anne, and grandmother of the unfortunate Joann Antonovitch. Three of its members rose to the grade of field-marshal. The first was Count *Peter Séménovitch*, who commanded the Russian army in the Seven Years' war, and, with the help of Loudon, was victorious over the troops of Frederick the Great in the battle of Kunersdorff, in 1759. The second was his son, *Ivan Pétrovitch*, like himself, governor-general of Moscow. The third is he of whom we have spoken in the text, and the first who bore the title of prince. We add a few lines respecting him.

Nicholas Ivanovitch Saltikoff, born in 1734, was the son of Count Ivan Saltikoff, who died general-in-chief in 1773. He had himself attained this high rank, when he was chosen in 1783 to direct the education of the Grand-Dukes Alexander and Constantine Paulovitch. It was owing to these duties, and also to the friendship of the Emperor Paul, that he was invested with the dignity of field-marshal in 1796. At the same time he was appointed senator and president of the college of war, that is to say, minister of that department. Being constantly in favour during the reign of his pupil Alexander, he obtained in 1812 the presidency of the council of the empire, and in the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, he was, says M. Tourgueneff,* lieutenant, and a sort of regent of the empire during the absence of the sovereign. Lastly, after his first return, Alexander conferred upon him the title of prince. This third field-marshal of the name of Saltikoff died on the 28th of May, 1816.

Two of his sons sat in the council of the empire. One of them, Prince *Alexander Nikolaïévitch*, was for a very short time minister for foreign affairs. In the opinion of the author just quoted, he was a man remarkable for intelligence, talent, and noble character, but, being made nervous by the neglect he experienced from the Emperor Alexander, he began to be doubtful of his own superiority, and no longer performed, from that time, the services which might naturally have been expected from him. He died in 1837. The other, *Sergius Nikolaïevitch*, was reckoned one of the best senators of his time, and was actual privy councillor when he died in 1828.

Note (6), Page 30.

MORAL STATE OF THE RUSSIAN CLERGY.

During the last century the morals of the French clergy were, as is well known, excessively corrupt; but the evil, though very

* Vol. i. p. 567.

serious among the upper ranks, had not infected the majority of the *curés*, or officiating ministers of parishes. The conduct of the latter was generally satisfactory, and many among them furnished examples of the most virtuous conduct.

In Russia we remark the very reverse. The upper clergy are in general irreproachable and worthy of esteem; in their ranks there are, and have been at all times, very honourable, learned, enlightened, and pious men—in short, men every way qualified for their duty.* But the case is not the same with the lower clergy, who, with a few exceptions, are still in a deplorable state of degradation.

Everybody is of the same opinion on this subject. "The parish curates," says Coxe in his "Travels,"† "who ought to be the most useful members in the social body, are in Russia generally *the very refuse* of the people." Most of the French authors express themselves to the same effect,‡ and an enlightened and patriotic Russian § has just described to us once more the state of the clergy as "next to degradation." "In general the Russian clergy," says he, "are far from being equal to the importance of their mission. He who is in daily and permanent contact with the lowest orders of the people, is found to be in such a state of inferiority and insignificance, that he is scarcely sufficient to the performance of the material part of his duties. His position does not allow him ever to acquire the least moral influence over his flock, still less to direct their consciences."

However, to be just, we must say that a great improvement is beginning to be perceptible, since the young priests have been made to study more generally and more regularly in their seminaries. As we stated a few years ago,‖ it is upon these schools that the government must operate to obtain real reforms, and afterwards it must improve the physical condition of the clergy, which is now truly miserable.

"Nowhere," says M. Golovin,¶ "is drunkenness so generally

* There are also instances of independent character to be found among them. See what we have said of Philaretes, Archbishop of Moscow. For what relates to Plato, one of his predecessors, the reader may consult Lesur's "Des Progrès de la Puissance Russe," p. 437. See, also further, p. 500.

† "Travels," vol. ii. chap. v.

‡ See Fortia de Piles' "Voyage de Deux Français dans le Nord," t. iv. p. 72; Lesur's "Des Progrès de la Puissance Russe," p. 435, &c.

§ N. Tourgueneff's "La Russie et les Russes," t. ii. p. 35. See also, t. iii. p. 230.

‖ "Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde," article "Russie," t. xx. p. 698.

¶ "La Russie sous Nicolas I.," p. 87.

prevalent as in Russia." Formerly the clergy themselves set the example of it, as may be seen from the following passage in the "Travels of Olearius:"

"Being at Novogorod, at the time of our second embassy, I saw a priest come out of a tavern, who, on approaching our lodgings, wanted to give his benediction to the strelitz who were on guard before the door. But on raising his hand and bowing, his head was so heavy with the fumes of wine, that it overbalanced his body, and the poor priest tumbled into the mud. Our strelitz lifted him up respectfully, and received all the same this *muddy* benediction, *as a thing of common occurrence among them.*" *

Thanks be to God, things are no longer in so bad a state. However, the love of drink is said to be still very prevalent among the lower clergy. Let us, nevertheless, hope that the anxious care of the government, and a few severe examples made by the Holy-Synod, will ultimately eradicate the evil.

Note (7), Page 44.

THE TRAGICAL DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP AMBROSIUS.

We have spoken of the dreadful ravage made by the plague in 1771, at Moscow, where it had been brought by the troops of Catherine II. from the camp of the Turks.

The lower orders of the people, being horribly decimated by this malady, beset the temples and invoked the protection of the saints, with a fervour that assumed the outward form of a furious fanaticism. This fervour was combined with great exasperation against the physicians, and an extreme distrust of the government and the upper classes.

At the entrance of the Red-Market, that large square in front of the Kremlin, may still be seen, adjoining the pillars of the Gate of Vosskrecensk, a small chapel dedicated to the Virgin of Iveria (*Iverskia Bojémater*), whose image, formerly brought from Georgia, or, according to others, from Mount Athos, is there exposed to the veneration of the faithful. This image is considered to have the gift of performing miracles: the most wonderful cures are attributed to it, and in cases of serious sickness, such as are able to pay for its visit, cause it to be brought to them. The Madonna has, for this purpose, her own private coach, conducted by a coachman, bare-headed, and by a postilion, mounted upon one

* "Liv. iii. trad. de Wicquefort," t. i. p. 216.

of the front horses.* Everybody bows down before her on her passage; nay the men will often throw themselves on the ground in such a manner that the holy image shall pass over them: they are then convinced that they are "armed in proof" against the attacks of disease. We have said that this interference of the Virgin is not given gratis; besides which, being constantly besieged by the crowd, and respectfully saluted by every passenger, her altar is daily loaded with offerings, where the mite of the poor is often seen mixed with the magnificent liberalities of some noble or even powerful family. Accordingly, the image is richly adorned: on one of the fingers of the Virgin shines a large diamond of considerable value, and her aureola is composed of fine pearls, surrounded with the most precious stones.

At the disastrous period of which we are speaking, the people of Moscow no longer expected any salvation but from this image; they used to rush in a kind of fury to the little chapel, and the dense crowd became wedged in the then narrow space before the doors. In that multitude, of which even the nobility formed a part, there were naturally many sick persons: being huddled together on all sides by the crowd, they served to spread the contagion; and the evil went on increasing every day.

Ambrosius, the worthy archbishop of Moscow, an enlightened member of the Holy Synod, and estimable for the practice of every virtue,† was frightened by the danger to which he saw his flock exposed, and considered it his duty to take measures for their preservation. But it is a dangerous enterprise to meddle with the objects adored by a fanatical population: it occasioned the death of the worthy prelate,

Catherine II. herself relates this tragical event to Voltaire in the following rather unfeeling and ironical terms:—‡

"Ambrosius, a sensible, worthy man, having heard that there had been for several days a great concourse of people before an image, which they pretended could cure the sick (who were expiring at the feet of the holy Virgin), and that much money had been brought there, sent to have the chest sealed, in order to employ it afterwards in pious works, an economical arrangement which every bishop has a right to make in his own diocese. It is to be presumed that his intention was to take away the image (as that has been done more than once), and that this was only a preliminary proceeding. Indeed, this crowding together of the

* This species of Russian jockey is called in the language of the country *Falleiter*, a word derived from the German *Vorreiter*.

† His real name was Andrew Sertis-Kamenski. We have devoted a biographical notice to him in the "Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde," article "Ambrosius," t. i. p. 561-62.

‡ "Correspondence," Letter xciv., dated 17th (6th) October, 1771.

people during a season of epidemic, could only tend to increase it. But hear what happened.

"A part of the populace began shouting: 'The archbishop wants to rob the holy Virgin of her treasures; he must be killed!' Others took the part of the archbishop. From words they came to blows. The police wanted to separate them, but the ordinary police was not sufficient; for Moscow is not a town, but a world in itself. The most furious set off running towards the Kremlin; they broke open the gates of the convent where the archbishop resides, pillaged that convent, and got drunk in the cellars, where many merchants keep their wines;* but not finding the person whom they sought, a party of them ran off to the convent, called Donskoï,† whence they dragged out that respectable old man,‡ whom they inhumanly massacred; the others remained to fight over their booty."

Finding the church-gates shut, the multitude had indeed burst them open. Then the unfortunate prelate concealed himself in the sanctuary where the priests alone have the right to enter; but a child shewed the way to the furious crowd, whom even their superstition, on this occasion, was unable to check. They found the archbishop at prayers at the foot of the altar, seized and dragged him as far as the door of the temple, and were preparing to slaughter him, when he entreated them to allow him time to prepare for appearing before God, by celebrating once more the holy communion. The tigers could not refuse him this request: being by habit minute observers of all the practices of religious worship,§ they remained during that time patient spectators of the ceremony of the sacrament. But as soon as it was finished, they dragged Ambrosius out of the church and massacred him without pity. When the guard at length arrived, it was too late to save the saintly prelate; he had breathed his last; but they arrested the principal guilty parties, some of whom were condemned to be impaled alive.

This tragical death of the Archbishop of Moscow took place on the 16th of September, 1771.

* This is a very friendly explanation, for which the clergy must have felt much obliged to the empress.

† Our Lady of the Gift.

‡ Ambrosius was then 63 years old.

§ See Clarke's "Travels," vol. i. p. 109; Golovin, p. 90, &c.

Note (8), Page 102.

THE UNION OF POLAND WITH RUSSIA.

An English newspaper, "The Times," has lately printed an unpublished correspondence between the Emperor Alexander and Lord Castlereagh,* then plenipotentiary of Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna. At the time of that congress, England saw with displeasure the aggrandizement of Russia in the direction of Poland; she was afraid lest the czar should take the lion's share, and in contempt of the treaties which had stipulated the sharing of the Polish provinces among three, he should seize upon the whole for himself. This dread gave rise to the correspondence in question.

It has been partially copied into the "Journal des Débats," (January, 1847,) where, at the head of the first article, we read the following notice :—

"These documents have been published for the first time by 'The Times' newspaper. It would appear that they have not been communicated in the original, but must have been translated from French into English, and the passages we give have been obliged to be translated back again into French : this has been done as literally as possible. The authenticity of this correspondence, moreover, cannot be doubted, having been publicly acknowledged by Lord Palmerston."

We first meet with this declaration of Lord Castlereagh, which is a cry of alarm uttered as early as 1814, a warning given at that time to Europe :—"The conquest of Poland was effected principally to bring the Russian nation into closer communication with the rest of Europe, and to open a vast field and a higher and more striking theatre for the exercise of her strength and talents, and for the satisfaction of her pride, her passions, and her interests."

This idea receives afterwards a greater development in a memorandum (dated October 12th, 1814), addressed to the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and especially in the following passage :—

"The reflections to which this measure gives rise, must necessarily have inspired the utmost alarm, filled the courts of Austria and Prussia with the greatest consternation, and spread general terror among all the states of Europe. The forced union of a country so important and populous as the duchy of Warsaw, which contains more than 4,000,000 of inhabitants, to the empire of Russia, so recently aggrandized by the conquest of Finland,

* Since then, Marquis of Londonderry and prime minister.

her acquisitions in Moldavia, and her late addition on the side of Prussia; her progressive march from the Niemen towards the centre of Germany; her occupation of all the fortresses of the duchy, which exposes the capitals of Austria and Prussia to her attacks, without leaving them any line of defence on the frontier; the invitation given to the Poles to rally round the standards of the Emperor of Russia for the regeneration of their kingdom; the new hopes and encouragements given, and the new scenes opened to the activity and intrigues of this frivolous and turbulent people; the prospect of witnessing a revival of those tumultuous discussions with which the Poles have so long enveloped their own country and their neighbours; the fear which this measure inspires, as the cause of a new and approaching war; the loss of every reasonable hope of enjoying present peace and tranquillity; all these considerations, and many others, now present themselves to general attention, and *justify the alarm conceived by the whole of Europe.*"

England was therefore unwilling that Austria and Prussia should be excluded from the partition, and that Russia should obtain at once Cracow and Thorn: she pleaded the cause of these two powers very warmly. "How can it be supposed," continued her principal representative at the congress of Vienna, "that in stipulating the dissolution of the duchy of Warsaw, they could have consented to the far more dangerous reconstitution of a kingdom of Poland dependent on the crown of Russia; *an arrangement ten times more menacing and alarming for their respective states?* Even though the terms of the treaty were as ambiguous as they are clear and conclusive, nobody could interpret them so as to imply that the two powers that entered into an engagement for the deliverance of Europe, were induced to embrace this noble cause *by signing their own ruin,* and exposing themselves, in a military point of view, to the attack of a powerful neighbour."

Alexander, under the influence of Prince Czartoryiski's ideas, and more disposed perhaps, from his taste of courting the applause of Europe, to play the part of constitutional King of Poland than that of autocrat of Russia, represented the necessity of restoring a country to the Poles, and of remedying the sad fate which the three-fold partition had inflicted on them. But the British negotiator shewed himself to be little affected by the czar's political sensibility; he remained inflexible upon the point in dispute, and the remonstrances which he returns are not devoid of a certain shade of irony.

"If a moral power," says he, "require that the situation of the Poles be ameliorated by so decisive a change as the re-establishment of their monarchy would be, then, let this measure be

executed on the broad and liberal principle of rendering them really independent as a nation, instead of making of the two-thirds of their country a formidable military weapon in the hands of a single power. So liberal a measure would be applauded by all Europe; Austria and Prussia, far from opposing it, would acquiesce in it with pleasure. This would be, it is true, a sacrifice on the part of Russia, according to the usual calculation of states; but unless your imperial majesty be disposed to make these sacrifices to your moral duty at the expense of your empire, you have no moral right to make such experiments to the detriment of your allies and your neighbours."

The emperor took the trouble to reply in person to the memorandum; he did so, on the 30th of October, with moderation, endeavouring to extenuate the importance of the territories obtained or claimed, but also complaining of the bitter terms which had been used towards him, and without dissembling that he should have expected more justice on the part of his allies, in return for his efforts and *the great resources* devoted by him to the war which had *emancipated* Europe; an emancipation of which he attributes a large share to himself.

"It is not doubtful," says he, "that on the issue of the present struggle depends the future destiny of the states of Europe, and the object of all my endeavours and sacrifices has been to see the members of our alliance recover or acquire an extent of territory likely to maintain the general equilibrium. Therefore, I do not see how, with such principles, the present congress could become a centre of intrigues and animosity, a theatre of unjust efforts to acquire more power. I refrain from turning this phrase against any one of my allies, how extraordinary soever it may have appeared to me to find it in your letter. It is for the world that has witnessed the principles of my conduct, from the passage of the Vistula to that of the Seine, to judge whether the desire of acquiring a population of one million of souls more, or of arrogating any preponderance to myself, was capable of directing any one of my acts.

"The purity of my intentions renders me strong. If I persist in the order of things that I would wish to establish in Poland, it is because I am intimately convinced in my conscience that it would be an act more useful to the general good than to my own private interest.

"As to the care of my own subjects,"* adds he, with dignity, "and to my duties towards them, *it is for me to know them;* and

* Lord Castlereagh had insinuated that the experiment which Alexander meditated relatively to Poland, might perhaps *excite in his own states a political ferment.*

"nothing but the uprightness of your intentions could have made me revert to the impression which the reading of this paragraph in your letter had produced upon me."

The emperor endeavours afterwards to tranquillize Lord Castlereagh's fears, by representing the danger as merely imaginary. He allows with a good grace that in case of any undue ambition on the part of Russia, every body would be against her. "Since this system," he replies, "is, as the memorandum affirms, contrary to that of Austria, Prussia, France, and the English ministry, the slightest attempt would reunite all these powers, which Turkey would eagerly join, against Russia alone, and abandoned." This avowal is doubtless one of the first of the kind that have ever been made in diplomacy, but it is worthy of the purity of the emperor's intentions.

Lord Castlereagh, however, would not give up the point; but replied in another memorandum.

This therefore was the aspect which the question of the union of Poland with Russia presented as early as 1814; it was seen to be fraught with real danger to Europe. This apprehension has since become weaker; for our part, we have never ceased to be free from it, as anybody may convince himself by referring to our pamphlet, published in 1831, with the title of "La Pologne et la Russie." There it will be seen (especially in pages 18-22), that our language about the empire of the czars has ever been the same, and that we have never shewn that complacency towards it of which a well known biographical work has ventured to accuse us unfairly, on a bare suspicion which it would have been very easy to dissipate.

Note (9), Page 106.

STATE OF GALLICIA TOWARDS THE END OF 1846.

The "Augsburg Gazette" has copied, in its number of the 25th of November, 1846, the following correspondence from Vienna, first published by the "Messenger of the Frontier" (*Grenzbote*):—

"The news which reaches us from Gallicia is extremely alarming. If anything in the world be able to save us, this winter, from a sudden commotion, it is the want of specie and the scarcity of provisions which prevail in that country. Scarcity and bad crops, which have already been the scourge of unhappy Gallicia for two years, have been still further aggravated by the much increased burden of quartering the military; and this burden

will become still more oppressive, since three new regiments have just received orders to enter Gallicia. The occupation of the country is thus become as complete as possible. The troops are shared throughout the rural districts, in small sections, according to the size of the villages. Perhaps things will be carried so far as to oblige the peasant by force to cultivate his field; but, when yielding to force, he ill performs his work and prefers to let a field be spoilt to giving proper care to the land of the nobles, which, in his opinion, belongs by right to himself alone. Among a part of the rural populations of Gallicia, all notions of property, and those of right and wrong have been confounded by the late revolution (of February 1846): the peasant demands boldly that all he has stolen and pillaged during that period shall be given up to him, as his own property; the reward he claims to-day, for having assassinated his masters, is nothing less than their inheritance. Our journal has lately expressed this opinion, that, in Gallicia, the government had to choose between two determinations only: one, that of completely enfranchising the peasant, and thus securing for itself his support for ever; the other, of keeping the whole country, both nobles and cultivators, under a rod of iron. Hitherto, the government has done neither. It has endeavoured to find out an exact middle course, which, however, has not been of much advantage.... Whoever is acquainted with the Gallician peasant, knows that he is at a very low degree of civilization, in fact, next to a state of brutishness; he also knows how difficult it is to inculcate ideas ever so little above the vulgar in the minds of these men stultified and debased by brandy, superstition, and filthiness. And whilst the spirit of resistance is propagated on that side under the most disgusting form, it is kept awake in the circles of polite society by the most formidable enemies imaginable,—by the women. All the emissaries of the propaganda together have not effected one-tenth of what has been done by the Polish women; and even if Poland should desire to remain quiet, the fervent mind of the women would never consent to it. This is one of the most prominent features in the Polish character. Lastly, what proves that there is greater reason than ever to be alarmed about Gallicia at the present moment, is this very simple fact, that, during the insurrection, a state of siege, with military law,* was published in three districts, and that now it is in twelve."

* *Das Standrecht.*

Note (10), Page 155.

THE RUSSIAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

As we have seen in the former volume, Notes (11) and (13), the religious exaltation which was produced in the mind of Alexander by the serious circumstances attending the French invasion, and especially by the terrible conflagration of Moscow, had led him to read the Bible, with which he had been till then almost unacquainted. Struck with the salutary consequences derived from this study, he immediately resolved to secure the benefit for his people by propagating the holy volume throughout his empire.

Doubtless the Russian church, being stationary, perverted by its spirit of formality, and deprived of every principle of liberty, needed to return to the Bible, the source of real religious life. But she was far from being disposed to do so of her own accord; she cherished her old routine,—that immobility which goes so far as to retrench, for the most part, sermons from the Christian form of worship.* However, she did not resist the will of the emperor, who had resolved to civilize his people by the Gospel; and enthusiasm, the natural consequence of a great commotion, disposed her favourably to this important task. The worthy metropolitan, Seraphim, appears especially to have entered into the views of the monarch without any repugnance; for a speech made by him, in the last general Biblical assembly that was held, breathes truly the spirit of the Gospel, which is a spirit of liberty, charity, and infinite hope. The example of this first pastor prevailed with all that portion of the Russian clergy which was not under the exclusive sway of ancient prejudices. They decided, therefore, that they would try the influence of the British and Foreign Bible Society. On the 18th of December (new style), an association, on the model of the latter, was founded at St. Petersburg; it bore at first only the name of the capital; but soon after it assumed that of the *Russian Bible Society*. It was

* We well know that she had, and still has, a small number of ecclesiastical orators, almost all of whom are mitred prelates, Plato, Philarètes, and Innocent, and that only a few years ago the Bishop of Koursk, like several other pastors of his rank, was authorized to print a collection of his sermons. But these exceptions are no answer to the rule; ordinary priests, strictly speaking, do not preach; at the utmost, they read occasionally some short printed homily to the people. Even the office of court preacher was suppressed in 1824, in consequence of a rather severe sermon preached by Philarètes, since metropolitan of Moscow.

definitively constituted on the 23rd of January, 1813, and had for its president, under the protectorship of the emperor, Prince Alexander Galitsin, minister of religious worship and public instruction. One of its most zealous agents was another good man, of whom we have already spoken, M. Alexander Tourgueneff, brother to Nicholas; like him an enlightened patriot, and convinced, like him, of the necessity of a regeneration for Russia. Besides being member of the commission of laws and secretary of state in the council of the empire, M. Tourgueneff * was also charged with the department of foreign worship, in the ministry of which Prince Galitsin was the head. He entered ardently upon the new path of improvement which Alexander wanted to open for his people.

Notwithstanding its short duration, the activity of this Bible society was very great; indeed, no other, unless it be the British, the parent of all these societies, ever displayed more. Its seat was at St. Petersburg; but it had, moreover, throughout the whole extent of the empire, 289 committees or auxiliary societies. Owing to the donations of the faithful, it gradually collected a sum of 3,711,376 roubles. It caused the Scriptures to be translated and printed, or at least to be circulated, in 41 idioms, of those which are spoken in Russia, apart from the national Sclavonic language, especially by the numerous Finnish and Ural tribes. It distributed 448,109 copies of the sacred volume, invaluable in themselves, but often precious indeed in the distant countries where they were circulated, as the only books that could possibly be procured, or as a means of study to the linguist; for, opposite the Touvach, the Tcheremis, or the Ostiac, &c., the text was printed in Russian, just as the old Sclavonic church language was found opposite the Russian, in the copies intended for the prevailing race. Towards the close of Alexander's reign, the activity of this society gradually diminished; yet in the year 1825 it caused 70,000 more copies of the Scriptures to be printed in different languages, and 31,161 copies to be distributed. Not the slightest suspicion of occasioning conspiracies against public order or the unity of the church could be brought against it: if there

* He was born in 1784, of an ancient and very honourable family in the government of Simbirsk, had studied at Gottingen, and had afterwards entered the service of the state under the auspices of Novociltsoff, one of the emperor's friends. The emancipation of the serfs was one of his principal preoccupations, but he took, also, a part in every attempt to awaken in his country that intellectual life which would strengthen and enrich the numerous elements of its strength and grandeur. We are indebted to M. Alexander Tourgueneff for a learned collection intitled "Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ," St. Petersburg, 1840 and 1843, two vols. quarto. A third volume is about to be published.

were at that time a few conversions to catholicism, and if the ancient sects of *doukhobortses* (enemies of the Holy Ghost) or other *yaskolniks* (heretics) recommenced their agitation, as they have since done, it could not reasonably be imputed to the Bible. But Prince Galitsin, the president of the society, following the monarch's example, was inclining towards pietism, and this tendency, becoming perhaps rather a matter of fashion, spread from one to another among the upper classes. Then the Holy Synod, no doubt little pleased to see the emperor acquiring a taste for the preaching of Madame Krudener, and frequenting with her adepts the conventicles of the dissenters, began to shew some uneasiness; a few fanatical priests raised a commotion, and the archmandrid Photius, a saintly man whom our readers have not forgotten, went straightway to the emperor. He appeared before him, uninvited, and communicated to him the fears of the church. A short time afterwards, Prince Galitsin was deprived of a part of the powers he exercised over the church, and of his office of president of the Bible Society.* Having then become an entirely ecclesiastical business, it was placed under the direction of the metropolitan of Novogorod and St. Petersburg, the first minister of the Holy Synod. Such was the state of things when the government drew up the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry."

A few isolated individuals had just been making a criminal use of the Bible. This circumstance turned the scale in favour of the numerous enemies of its propagation; as early as the 6th of May (April 24th) 1826, a ukase, enacting the suppression of the Russian Bible Society, proceeded from the supreme authority. It was merely allowed to dispose, by auction, of the copies of the sacred volumes which it still retained in its depositories. Its accounts were, moreover, to be made up and settled. From that time, a general immobility has prevailed, from which a momentary enthusiasm, by means of this society, seemed likely to have extricated the Russian church.

Note (11), Page 161.

SCARCITY OF LEGISTS.

"The lawyers, I mean those of the Russian courts, are the most ignorant that exist," had already been said by Williams, the English author.†

* M. Alexander Tourgueneff retired from it at the same time, and likewise gave in his resignation of the post he occupied in the ministry of public worship.

† "The Rise, Progress, and Present State," &c., t. ii. p. 307.

An opinion of a greater authority in these matters is that of M. Nicholas Tourgueneff, himself among the few who would have a right to claim for themselves the appellation of legist. He refrains, he says,* from entering into many particulars about the organization and the exercise of the administrative and the judiciary powers, as this would be of no interest. "First, there cannot be in Russia any kind of independence for the judicial power, by the side of that immense absolute power which is the attribute of the monarch, and which embraces and absorbs everything.† Then, again, in a country where there are neither advocates, jurisconsults, legists, nor administrators by profession, and where everybody does everything, what would be the use of giving a different sphere of action to the different powers?"

In Russia there exist no real jurisconsults but among the Germans of the Baltic provinces: the latter can invoke confidently the names of Ewers, Rentz, Brœcker, and a few others of more ancient date; and there alone are to be found advocates worthy of this appellation.

Note (12), Page 164.

COUNT SPÉRANSKI.

The Romish clergy, abounding with men of superior minds, and formerly, in times of less general civilization, at the head of the intellectual progress of mankind, has long been in a condition to furnish all our countries of western Europe, and even Poland, with some of their most distinguished statesmen. But the case has not been the same with the Russian clergy: never has that body produced a Richelieu or a Mazarin. This is, doubtless, no great harm; but that is not the question at this moment: what we mean is, that this fact is easily accounted for. Whilst the upper prelacy, in France and other countries, was reserved partly for the younger sons of great families, the Russian clergy has scarcely ever been recruited but from the ranks of the people, with whom it was principally in contact; and to arrive at the superior dignities it was necessary to come from a convent, that is to say, to have turned monk at an early age, or else, after

* "La Russie et les Russes," t. ii. p. 306.

† As to the value of ukases, see *ibid.*, t. ii. 305, and Golovin, p. 119. Some are enacted every moment infringing the law, with this express reservation:—*Né v'primère drougnim*, without making a precedent for others.

having been a secular priest, to have been urged into that retirement by the loss of a wife on whose existence the ordinary functions of clerkship are dependent.*

And not only have the Russian clergy, with a few rare exceptions, not produced any politicians, but their children have never been seen distinguishing themselves in this career and arriving at eminent posts in the state. Ostermann, the vice-chancellor of the empire under the empress Anne, was the son of a Lutheran pastor of Westphalia; but scarcely could any son of a priest (*pope*) be quoted as having risen to so high a rank; and it is once more easy to tell the reason. On one hand, the sons of the lower clergy do not receive a sufficient education to prepare them for filling such a post; and on the other, it seldom happens that the members of the upper clergy, who alone could push their sons into the superior offices, have left the class of *hieromonacs*, that is to say, of monks formerly married when they were priests and in the world. The sons of priests, therefore, belong generally to an obscure sphere from which it is very difficult for them to emerge.

The man whose name is placed at the head of this notice is one of the few who form the exception to this rule.

Michael Spéranski, the son of a priest (*pope*), was born in 1771, at a village in the government of Vladimir. His real name was *Nadèjeda* (hope); and some have pretended that he was of Chinese extraction. His father placed him at an early age in a seminary; and the young Michael † afterwards finished his studies at the ecclesiastical academy of St. Petersburg. He shewed so much taste for the mathematics, and studied them with such evident success, that he was admitted at the age of twenty-one to teach the exact and physical sciences in that superior academy, established at the convent of St. Alexander Nevski. At the same time, he gave lessons in the family of Prince Alexis Kourakin, the brother of the chancellor at that period.

The support of this powerful family enabled Spéranski, in 1797, to change the ecclesiastical career for that of the service of the state, for which he felt a greater vocation. Being backed by the prince, and recommended moreover by his own talents, the clearness of his intelligence, and his love of occupation, he rapidly traversed the scale of the bureaucratical hierarchy, was called to the chancery of the privy council,‡ and promoted in 1801, that is to say,

* The Russian priest cannot marry a second time, remaining *pope*; neither can he continue his functions. When he loses his wife, he enters a convent.

† Mikhaïl Mikhaïlovitch.

‡ The denomination of *Council of the Empire* was not yet adopted.

at the age of thirty, to the rather elevated post of secretary of state attached to this same council. There he displayed great activity: the most important official writings of that period, drawn up in Russia, especially the ministerial returns, published by Storch in his collection already frequently quoted,* are due to the pen of Spéranski.

The whole frame-work of the superior administration was, as is well known, remodelled in 1802: † the post of attorney-general, a kind of prime minister, through whose hands most of the business used to pass, was suppressed, and in its place ministerial departments like those of other countries, were created. Spéranski had no direct hand in the establishing of this new form of administration; but, in the following year, he was charged with the organization of the ministry of the interior by Count Kotchoubéï who was then at its head. Being considered from that time as the most proper person for the task of codifying the Russian laws, he was called, in 1808, to the commission already instituted by Catherine II. and renewed in 1804, but which had remained almost entirely inactive; and the direction of the chancery of this commission was entrusted to his care. Being given later as a colleague to the minister of justice, he was charged, after the conquest of Finland, with the provisional administration of that grand-principality, subjected to a special government; and the guardianship of the University of Abo formed also a part of his prerogatives.

At that period, Spéranski, being promoted to the rank of privy councillor, began to have frequent intercourse with the emperor Alexander, who was fond of consulting him, and listened gladly to his suggestions. It is well known that this prince had many praiseworthy inclinations. Discontented with the existing state of things, and convinced of the necessity of introducing new changes into the mechanism of the administration, he was captivated by Spéranski's arguments and noble views, which he conveyed to him in extremely eloquent language. He granted him an almost unlimited confidence. Every kind of reform was then undertaken, and every part of the government was revised, but perhaps, according to ideas too systematical, and without having always sufficiently perfected the projects of improvement.

At Spéranski's suggestion, the methods of teaching followed in the schools of the clergy were improved, and the funds assigned to them augmented. The old privy council, the name of which had been converted by Alexander into that of *council of the*

* "Russland unter Alexander I."

† See the two ukases of the 8th of September of that year, and Bredow, p. 388.

empire, was re-organised and put on its present footing;* every branch of the public administration was to end there as in a common centre; it was especially desired that it should have the control of all the financial operations; but no law in general was to be established in future till after it had been submitted to a deliberation in that assembly. Everything became centralized in this great body of the state; and Spéranski, who was its soul, and formed the connecting link between it and the monarch, found himself invested with great power; nor has any one of his successors in the post of secretary of the council or secretary of the empire, equalled him in this particular. A few months later† he also remodelled the ministers, applying to all the principles of organization which he had succeeded in getting adopted in 1803, for that of the interior. He next turned his attention to the finances, in consideration of which most of these innovations had been undertaken. The continual issue of paper-money had occasioned its depreciation, and, an annual deficit staring it in the face, the government was seriously embarrassed. The system of taxation was modified, a sinking fund instituted, a part of the bank assignats was withdrawn from circulation, a new monetary system introduced, and a better calculated tariff put in operation. All these measures were perhaps not equally worthy of praise; for it was soon necessary to alter some of them, and Spéranski's financial capacity was said to have been limited; but they bear witness, at all events, to his zeal, his fervent desire to extricate Russia from the old routine in which she had remained buried, and to the extreme activity of his mind.

A projected civil code, drawn up by him, was already being discussed in the council of the empire; and he was also sketching the plan of a commercial and a penal code, and it was his intention to extend his labours of reform to the whole legislation; moreover, he had proposed a plan for re-organizing the senate, another great wheel in the machinery of the state that did not work in a satisfactory manner, In a word, he was striving in every possible way to prepare a better future for his country.

"M. Spéranski's project," says M. Tourgueneff,‡ "has been very little known in Russia. I have read it attentively. It proposes different institutions which were to lead the Russians to the legal *règime*,—to a constitutional representative government. The language is candid, and occasions an agreeable surprise to a patriotic reader. When we remember that this work was com-

* Ukase of the 1st (13th) of January, 1810.

† Ukase of the 21st of July (August 2nd), 1810.

‡ "La Russie et les Russes," t. i. p. 573. See also t. iii. p. 423, *et seq.*

posed before 1812, we cannot help acknowledging that Spéranski was one of the most forward men of his time, not only of Russia, but also of continental Europe."

"If ever Russia can have an impartial history," adds the same writer, "the name of Spéranski will figure in it with some honour."*

The emperor rewarded his councillor for his zeal by conferring on him the grand riband of St. Alexander-Nevski.

But Spéranski's plan, which was successively unfolded, piece by piece, was not comprehended by the public. They were astonished, perhaps frightened, at these innovations which followed each other in rapid succession: some considered them unconnected, others were startled by the rashness of the undertaking. The new financial measures, which, moreover, had not remedied the penury of the treasury, were considered as connected with the continental system, generally detested in Russia, and contrary to the interests of the territorial property. The changes introduced into the ministerial departments, by molesting many old functionaries in their routine, had also raised up numerous enemies against the secretary of the empire, and his high fortune had occasioned much envy; the aristocracy was jealous of this *pope's* son being the emperor's private adviser, and modelling the state with so much assurance, according to his own inspiration. A storm soon gathered around him; and the commotion occasioned in Russia by the danger of a French invasion, contributed to make it burst forth.

Spéranski owed his downfall to an intrigue, the principal leader of which is said to have been General Armfeld, a Swedish deserter. The autocrat sacrificed his councillor at a moment when it was essential to appease every kind of distrust, and to avert from his own person the unpopularity with which he was menaced by the reforms of his minister.

The disgrace of the secretary of the empire was sudden; on leaving the Winter Palace, after being employed with his sovereign, in March, 1812, he found himself under arrest. A carriage was waiting for him at the gate; he was obliged to enter it, and, without being allowed time even to go and embrace his daughter, still very young, he was conducted under a strong escort to Nijni-Novogorod, where he was at first permitted to reside. Six

* However, M. Tourgueneff is not prejudiced in his favour, but, on the contrary, judges him severely. "Posterity," he says, "will forget, or will never know the little worth of the moral man." He reproaches him, moreover, with having been too much attached to the form, and not enough to the reality, the essence of things. Can it then be true that Russia cannot shew a single truly superior man, a single really complete organization?

months afterwards, the French having arrived at Moscow, this neighbourhood was considered dangerous, and the exile was transferred to Perm, a town situated about 1,000 kilometers (613 English miles) farther, in the direction of Asia. Thus did the enemies of Spéranski triumph; and the most extraordinary rumours were spread among the public, as usually happens in such cases, on "the odious treachery," the effects of which had just been prevented.

Spéranski was a great admirer of our country (France), and he was the more fond of keeping up a correspondence with it, as he meditated introducing into Russia the code of Napoleon, inclusive of the law of divorce. Calumny took advantage of these facts to accuse him of a secret correspondence with the French, at the very moment when they were marching towards the Niemen. Such was the explanation given to the act of severity practised against a man, who, till then, had been so influential; and however absurd these rumours may have been, they gained credit, when the first chief of division in the ministry of justice and the director of the cypher office for foreign affairs* were seen involved in the same disgrace.

Spéranski justified himself in the opinion of the emperor from all these imputations in a memorial he addressed to him from Perm, in the beginning of the year 1813. Having no personal property, he was in a state of great destitution; but Alexander at length allowed him a suitable pension. Two years later the exile obtained permission to retire to a small estate which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Novogorod, at 180 verstes from St. Petersburg. There he passed many happy days, occupied with agriculture, his studies, and the education of his daughter: it was doubtless at this period that he made his translation of "The Imitation of Jesus Christ," published a short time afterwards at St. Petersburg (in 1819). However, as early as 1816, the emperor, by a ukase, in which he made him a kind of reparation,† appointed him to the post of civil governor of Penza; and, although this office might appear of a subaltern kind in comparison with that which Spéranski had formerly occupied, he accepted it. In fact this nomination was only a stepping-stone to new honours; and it was moreover accompanied with a gift of

* Beck, the councillor of state, an honourable man, of solid learning.

† He says in this ukase of the 30th of August, 1816, that having received a serious denunciation against Spéranski, just as he was departing for the army, he had been unable to examine it closely; but that the facts alleged were nevertheless so serious that the immediate removal of the accused from affairs seemed to be a measure dictated by prudence; but that having since made inquiry, he had not considered the reasons for the suspicion well founded.

7,000 deciatines of land, offered by the emperor by way of compensation. Next, in June, 1819, Spéranski was invested with the functions of Governor-General of Siberia. Then he devoted more than a year to visit, amid incredible difficulties, every part of the immense territory intrusted to his care, where everything had to be created, but where a judicious administration may secure in future unexpected resources to the state. He drew up a plan of organization,* in which no real interest was forgotten; that of the savage who had only the produce of his hunting for subsistence, no more than that of the merchant engaged in the trade with China, and often worth millions of money.

Lastly, in the month of March, 1821, he appeared again at St. Petersburg, after an absence of nine years. The old calumnious reports were forgotten; the emperor received him with extreme kindness, and made him sit in that same council of the empire of which he had been equally the oracle as the secretary. The plan proposed by him was adopted in whatever was most essential, and soon after put into execution. Spéranski, being member of the committees of legislation and of finances, resumed his labours relative to the code of laws, and, still full of activity, exercised once more a preponderating influence over the deliberations of the council.

But it was especially under Alexander's successor that Spéranski's great talents found an employment useful to his country. Nicholas had recourse to them in the serious difficulties in which he found himself situated at the commencement of his reign. Not only he acted according to the advice of this counsellor throughout the duration of the grand trial, but he also enlightened himself, in frequent conversations with him on the state of the legislation of the empire, and the means of emerging at length from the chaos by terminating the task of codification. The young autocrat entered upon that work himself with resolution, and chose Spéranski for his principal auxiliary, "the only legist in Russia," according to the opinion of M. Golovin.† We have related in our narrative how Spéranski acquitted himself of his task; we have followed the progress of the work, by the help of the indications which he himself has afforded in the Russian original, termed "Compendium of Historical Notions on the Formation of the body of Russian Laws" (St. Petersburg, 1833, 8vo.), and we have made known its result,—that *Svod* or Digest, which is now the law of the country, a law still susceptible of great improvements, but which has at least inaugurated the legal *régime*, and put an end to the anarchy which, in this respect, had so long prevailed.

* Printed with the title of "Sibirskoïé Outchréjedénié."

† "La Russie sous Nicolas I.," p. 233. See Note (11), p. 491.

The *Svod* is Spéranski's chief title to the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen, which was anticipated by that of the emperor. If he did not perfect it, at all events he executed its most essential parts, after having sketched out the basis of the whole work. Thus, there was no honour that he did not enjoy. After being promoted to the rank of actual privy-councillor, adorned with the riband of St. Andrew, the highest order in the empire, he received, moreover, in the last year of his life, the title of count, and to these merely honorary distinctions, bestowed by the munificence of the emperor, were added most solid advantages. But the most glorious reward of Spéranski's labours was the universal esteem of which he was the object at that period, and the satisfaction he experienced at having rendered the most urgent service to his prince and his country.

Notwithstanding the obstacles he had to surmount, this son of a priest has done more for his country than many members of aristocratic families, proud of their hereditary glory, and strong in their powerful connexions. He died in January, 1839, nearly seventy years of age.

He was one of those men who are never forgotten when seen, though only for once. His high forehead and serene countenance betokened intellect and goodness; and one seemed to read in his expressive physiognomy, the whole history of a life characterized by so many different labours, courageous attempts, and glorious successes.

Note (13), Page 195.

STILL MORE CORRUPTION.

On this head authors can never exhaust their subject, and the assertions of the Russians in this respect are no less formal and condemnatory.* In every age the vice of corruption has been stigmatized even from the throne and the pulpit. Catherine II., in the very year of her accession (July 18, 1762), published a ukase in order to put a stop to this evil. In that act, expressly

* See, in the text, those of the statesman; see also, Golovin, p. 121, 368, *et seq.*, &c. Among foreign writers, we will merely mention the author of the "Révélations," t. i. p. 68, 149, 161, &c., also the author (far more favourable towards Russia) of the work intitled "De la Russie et de la France," p. 33; Marmier, in his "Letters sur la Russie, la Finlande, et la Pologne," t. ii. p. 96, *et seq.*; Custine, in twenty different parts of his book, &c.

entitled "against corruption,"* we find the following passage :— "We had heard to satiety, and we now see ourselves how far this insatiable thirst for gifts and presents has extended in our empire; so far, that scarcely could the least magisterial seat be found where the exercise of justice is not infected with this contagion." So much for the throne. As to the church, she has uttered her protestations by the lips of the eloquent Plato, the metropolitan of Moscow. In his address to Alexander, during the coronation we remark these two passages :—"Thou wilt see flocking to thy throne widows, orphans, paupers, the victims of the abuse of power, of partiality, and corruption. Thou wilt hear their prayers!" . . . "Corruption and partiality will raise their hideous heads and endeavour to turn the scale of justice on their side."

Our own travelling-journal, which has remained intact up to the present time, as we have stated, is full of examples where proper names are set down with the facts; our intention was to deliver them to the public; but on beholding what is passing at the present day in our own country, we pause, and though one may, at all events, be comforted by the assurance that *there are judges at Berlin*, we have no longer the courage to proceed.

Note (14), Page 195.

KARAMZIN'S OPINION OF THE SERVILITY OF THE RUSSIANS.

After having spoken of the oppression under which the Russians, enslaved by the Mongols, groaned for two hundred years, the enlightened historian, whose name is at the head of this note, expresses himself as follows :—

"What must be the consequence of this state of things? The moral abasement of men. Laying aside all national pride, *we learned the vile artifices of slavery*, to which the weak have recourse to serve them in lieu of strength. In deceiving the Tartars, we acquired the habit of cheating one another also. By purchasing safety from the violence of the barbarians with money, we became more avaricious, and, by being exposed to the indignities of foreign tyrants, we were soon less sensible of insult and infamy." . . . "Perhaps the Russian character even now shews blemishes which it has received from Mongol barbarity."—"Histoire de l'Empire de Russie," vol. v. chap. iv.

The whole of this chapter, in which the author gives the history

* *Likhoimstvo.*

of autocracy, and shews it ridding itself of every kind of counterpoise, is worthy of the closest attention.

"Joann III.," says he, in another chapter, "introduced the custom of kissing the hand of the sovereign: he made it a flattering proof of his benevolence. In divining the secrets of autocracy, he became, in a manner of speaking, the terrestrial god of the Russians, *who began, at that period, to astonish all other nations by their boundless devotion to the monarch's will.*" . . . "The highest functionaries, whether secular or ecclesiastical, when declared to have forfeited their dignity on account of crime, were by no means safe from the terrible penalty of the knout." Vol. vi. chap. vii.

The historian does not appear less liberal in several of the following chapters, especially in the second of the ninth volume. But we have not been able to find, in this same volume, the history of Princè Sougorski, the ambassador of the czar Joann the Terrible to the Emperor Maximilian II., which is the subject of an extract from Karamzin, quoted by the author of "La Russie en 1839,"* and which the Russian historian is said to have terminated with the following observation :—

"That is to say, the Russians gloried in what they were reproached with by foreigners;—a blind and boundless devotion to the monarch's will, even when, in his most violent fits of caprice, he trampled upon every law of justice and humanity."

Note (15), Page 72.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

We wish we could copy the whole of the note devoted to this vital question in the volume entitled "De la Russie et de la France," p. 305—313; but the reader will prefer to consult the original, and we must confine ourselves here to a short quotation.

"The serf, the man-glebe," says the anonymous author, "is become the standard of value, the common measure by which property and riches are estimated; he has been looked upon as the assessment of taxation, and the pledge of credit; Russia has reckoned by human heads just as other countries do by acres; the exchequer has laid its taxes in proportion to the population; the proprietor has borrowed on his slaves; and the individual has remained a mortgage. For this reason, the question of emancipa-

* Vol. iii. p. 214.

tion is not only a difficulty in the moral order, but also a settling of accounts, a vexatious question of interest and useful right.

"The minds of men in general, even among the interested, may be believed to be at the present day disposed in favour of emancipation; common reason considers it as a necessity of the times, and, on principle, everybody consents to the measure, and desires it; but, in entering upon it positively, people perceive that they must have some security against possible ill consequences. . . . This question is like the holy arc: everybody approaches it, but nobody ventures to touch it.

"To meddle with slavery, you must have unshackled powers, and financial resources at your disposal; you must be free from uneasiness abroad and from inconvenience at home. Money is the oil of the social mechanism; it smoothes every part; and there are situations which you must be able to pay for, if you would remain master of them."

Notwithstanding his restrictions, the author considers the enfranchisement of the serfs as a task imposed by Providence upon the present emperor. "The life of the Emperor Nicholas," says he, "would present a painful void, and leave a regret without compensation, if he happened not to reach the culminating point in his destiny. From the day when he assumed the sceptre, he has been the necessary man for his empire," &c.

The question of slavery and the emancipation of the serfs has just been examined more thoroughly by a man who has made it the study of his whole life;* and his work releases us from saying more here on a matter which could not be fully treated without entering into many particulars. An opportunity of reverting to this subject will no doubt occur at some future time, and then we will eagerly embrace it.

Note (16), Page 238.

NEGOTIATIONS AND SECRET VIEWS OF RUSSIA CONCERNING THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Two diplomatic despatches, one from Count Nesselrode to Prince Lieven, and the other from the same to the actual privy councillor de Ribeaupierre, would deserve to figure here at full length. Our want of space prevents us from copying them as we intended; but we will quote a short paragraph from each.

* M. Nicholas Tourgueneff. See his book, "La Russie et les Russes."

In the first despatch, dated January 9th, 1827, the question is the negotiations which preceded the conclusion of the treaty of London (July 6th, 1827). Ever since the peace of Akermân, England seemed to have entirely forgotten the protocol of the 4th of April, (March 23rd), signed at her instigation; but Russia had not forgotten it. She was determined to have either a war with Turkey, or the pacification of Greece, together with the re-establishment of her own *ascendency* at Constantinople; and the minister charges the ambassador to declare this distinctly to the British cabinet.

"Experience has proved to us," says he, "that the only argument that makes any impression upon the other cabinets, is, in reality, the fear of seeing the pacification of Greece effected by the sole ascendency of Russia. To bring them to the alternative of leaving us absolute masters of the ground, or to associate with us to direct that work of pacification in concert, is to assure to us the best means of obtaining their co-operation in the execution of the protocol of the 23rd of March, 1826. . . .

"To avoid the reproach of declining a proposal provoked by the English ministry, the emperor accepts that of France, and consents to the conversion of the protocol of the 23rd of March into a formal treaty. He consents to that treaty being concluded between all the powers that may be willing to sign it . . . . . ; but the condition on which he makes it depend, is one *sine quâ non*. The real coercive measure which we point out, is the junction of the squadrons, for the purpose of preventing every succour, Turkish or Egyptian, of men, arms, vessels, and ammunition . . ."

Finally, the minister declares that Mr. Canning's refusal should not prevent the emperor from going on and fulfilling, *separately*, the obligations he has contracted by the protocol. "It would be easy for you," adds he, "to hint to the ministry of his Britannic majesty the numerous and powerful means which Russia possesses for obtaining the consent of the Turks," &c.

In the other despatch, dated January 11th, 1827, Russia foresees the likelihood of a reaction against Mahmoud II., whose means of action were "terror or death." According to Count Nesselrode, this reaction would have brought about the extermination of the reigning dynasty. "If we reflect," says he, "that the reforms have been begun with shattered finances, amid symptoms of gradual decay, and that the grand-signior is drowning in the blood of his subjects their projects of rebellion, which seem, nevertheless, to revive every day, it is difficult to expect a long duration of his reign and government.

"Russia cannot, in any contingency, look upon this vast enterprise with indifference . . . Should it fail, it may occasion the fall of the Ottoman empire. . .

"It is most important that such a revolution should not find us unprepared; and you will have deserved well, sir, of your sovereign and your country, if you make us acquainted with the precursory symptoms of this catastrophe sufficiently in time for the emperor to be able to prepare his measures, and exercise an influence suitable to the dignity and necessities of Russia, over the political combinations which may replace the empire of the crescent."*

Such words need no commentary. Until an opportunity occurs for us to assign to them their proper place in the history of the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, we recommend them to the serious meditation of the Turks.

Note (17), Page 243.

THE BREAKING OF THE ICE ON THE NEVA.

When the fields of ice which imprison the waters of the Neva during five months of the year, begin to break, the bridge of boats is immediately taken away, and all communication between the two banks of that broad river remains intercepted for several days. During that time, the blocks of ice are rolled away by the stream, and when they have disappeared, the commandant of the fortress opens the navigation by repairing in a barge to the palace, and almost immediately afterwards, the bridge is replaced. However, it is often necessary to remove it a second time, in order to give a free passage to the masses of ice that come down from the Lake Ladoga.

The commandant of the fortress crosses the river with much solemnity, and amid the roar of artillery. His barge is armed with a few pieces of cannon, and followed by a procession composed of smaller boats. He goes to offer to the head of the state a goblet filled with water from the river, which goblet was formerly given back to him full of silver coin. Next, a festivity is celebrated, called *Priplavlénié* (the crossing of the river): we find it described with all its particulars in our travelling journal, but we restrict ourselves to saying that the people, dressed in holiday attire, throng the quays of the Neva, cross the river in small boats, and go to walk upon the ramparts of the fortress.

* We have seen in vol. i., that, at the interview at Erfurt, there had already been some conversation between Alexander and Napoleon, relating to a division of Turkey.

This custom is peculiar to St. Petersburg, and is traced back to the time of Peter the Great. Doubtless, that monarch thought proper to employ this popular means to make his subjects comprehend the great advantage they derived from this fine river which, when it breaks its icy bonds, gives life to the city and animates also all the empire, since it is, in a manner of speaking, the common conductor of all its water-courses into the Baltic.

Note (18), Page 295.

DEATH OF KARAMZIN.

The celebrated Russian historian terminated his noble career on the 3rd of June (May 22nd), 1826, at the palace of Tauris, in which the emperor had assigned him an apartment, in order that he might enjoy the fine garden of that imperial residence formerly built for Potemkin.

Nicholas Mikhaïlovitch Karamzin, (born at Simbirsk, on the 1st of December, 1765,) was then but sixty years old, but labour and a long illness had undermined his strength. He had enjoyed high favour with Alexander, who, in 1803, had made him historiographer of Russia.

Alexander's successor was not less sensible than his brother of the merit of the man who had endowed the literature of his country with a national monument; accordingly, never was an historian treated more magnificently. During his illness, Nicholas not only lodged him in one of his palaces, and often sent to inquire after his health, but he presented him with 50,000 roubles in order that he might repair, as soon as his strength permitted, to the south of France, whither a frigate of the imperial navy was to transport him; and, in order to set him completely at his ease as to the fortune of his family, in case his illness should terminate fatally, he allowed him an annual pension of 50,000 roubles, revertible to his wife, and, after her, to her children, until the sons entered the public service, and the daughters were married.*

In the "Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde," (article, *Karamzin*,) will be found a short appreciation of the historian; and in our preceding note (14,) we have given a few extracts from his great

* See the imperial rescript of the 25th (13th) of May, 1826, in the "Journal de St. Petersbourg," 1826, No. 64.

work, which prove that he wrote as a patriot rather than as a courtier. To judge of Karamzin as a politician, one should read his pamphlet "On ancient and modern Russia, in her political and civil Relations," presented in 1810, to the Emperor Alexander.

The year 1826, deprived Russia of several other celebrated men. First she lost, on the 15th of January, Count Nicholas Roumantsoff, the chancellor of the empire, a rich and powerful man, a true Mecænas to writers and artists; next, Alexander Naryschkin, the grand chamberlain, the king of theatricals, a famous punster, better known for his sallies and freaks than for serious services, but who was nevertheless beloved by Alexander, who was ever willing to pay the debts of this most prodigal great lord; then again, in February, the famous Count Peter de Pahlen, an old man who had long withdrawn from affairs, but who was full of life and gaiety to the last, and by no means tormented in conscience by the recollection of the terrible deed wherein he had played a principal part, on the night of the 23rd of March, 1801. He was blessed with a numerous progeny, who have also enjoyed honours of every description. His death was followed closely by that of General Benningsen, (October 4th), another actor in the same tragical scene. In the month of June, Count Gregory Orloff had died of an attack of apoplexy in the open senate; and, at the end of the year, (December 1st,) Russia had to deplore the loss of the venerable Catholic archbishop, Stanislaus Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz, the metropolitan of all Russia, an enlightened and tolerant prelate, and one of the most laborious and learned men who have investigated the origin of Russia and Poland.* His benevolent career extended to ninety-six years. A fanatical ultramontane author has been so bold as to say of him that he had been for fifty-four years the scourge of his native land. An outrage like this needs no refutation.

Note (19), Page 303.

INFLUENCE OF THE TURKISH REFORMS UPON THE HOSTILE DETERMINATIONS OF RUSSIA.

The speedy success of Mahmoud the Second's military reforms engrossed all the attention of the Russian cabinet, as Prince Metternich could perceive from the communications made to him by

* See a notice of him in the German "Gazette of St. Petersburg," 1826, No. 101.

General Vincent Krasinski, in May, 1829. This aide-de-camp general to the autocrat concealed neither from the chancellor of court and state, nor from the Emperor Francis, how much he was struck by this fact, that the Turkish prisoners who had been soldiers for only six weeks, were, nevertheless, as well disciplined as the old warriors to whom the Grand-Duke Constantine had devoted all his time; "their intense hatred," adds he, "their enthusiasm and fanaticism, together with *the order which the sultan introduces, and European tactics*, may render them dangerous for the future."

And what proves that this was no transient impression or momentary fear, is that we read in Count Nesselrode's despatch to M. de Ribeaupierre, dated January 11th, 1827, the following words: "Should it (the enterprise of reforming the Ottoman empire) succeed, this success may renovate, so to speak, the Turkish government, and inspire it with a confidence in its strength, the consequences of which would be felt also by Russia."

Note (20), Page 310.

ADDITIONS MADE TO THE HIGH NATIONAL COURT.

We have said that fifteen persons, appointed by the emperor by name, were added to the members of the three great bodies of the state. The following is a list of these persons: the actual privy councillor, Count Jourii Alexandrovitch Golovkin, formerly ambassador in China and at Vienna, the last scion of a family illustrious in the eighteenth century, an old man eighty years of age, but who, nevertheless, still performs the duties of grand-chamberlain and member of the council of the empire; general-in-chief Count de Langeron, of whom we have already spoken; actual privy-councillor, Baron (and, since the coronation, Count) Gregory Stroganoff, that Russian ambassador at Constantinople who, being urged beyond all bearing by the arrogance of the Porte, demanded his passports in 1821, but was not afterwards received by his sovereign in the manner that he naturally expected; Aide-de-camp-general Voïnoff, already mentioned; Charles Oppermann, general-in-chief of engineers (who was made count in 1829, but died a few years ago); Aide-de-camp-general Count de Lambert (since then a senator and general in the cavalry), Vice-admiral (since Admiral) Siniavine, Borozdin (since made a senator) and Paskévitch (since Field-Marshal and Prince of Warsaw); Lieutenant-General Emanuel, already mentioned; Aides-de-camp-

general Count Kamarofski, Bachoutzki, Zakrefski and Bistrom; and, lastly, Privy-Councillor Kouschnikoff, the senator for the departments of Moscow.

Note (21), Page 344.

CONRAD RYLEÏEFF'S PROPHETIC POETRY.

The poem Voïnarofski, dedicated by Ryléïeff to his friend Alexander Bestoujeff, whose fate he predicts, was printed at St. Petersburg in 1825, before the outbreak of the conspiracy. Another poem, "The Confession of Nalivaïko," has remained unpublished; and, judging of it from the fragment which M. Ancelot gives as a translation in his "Six Mois en Russie" (p. 179), it permits us to behold still nearer the soul of the unfortunate poet, who, warned by a secret presentiment of his future destiny, felt urged to record his own history in that of his heroes.

Nalivaïko, a young Cossack, had undertaken to deliver the Ukaine from the oppression of the Poles; he confides his design to a pious anchorite.

"In vain do the people groan in their chains," says he; "their lamentations are unheard. O my father! my hatred of the Poles has made me mad. My eyes are sad and thoughtful, but wild. My soul is pining under the burden of servitude; and one thought haunts me, day and night, like a phantom. It fires my brain in the tranquil fields of my father, in the noisy caravan, in the fierce struggle of battle, nay during my prayers at the foot of the holy altars; and a secret voice is ever whispering 'now is the time—it is time to sacrifice all the tyrants of the Ukaine.'

"Well do I know that a gulf is yawning to swallow up the first who rises against a nation's oppressors. Fate has chosen me. But, tell me, in what country, in what age, has independence been won without victims? I shall die for the country of my birth! I know it, I feel it, and it is with joy, O father, that I bless my approaching doom!"

Note (22), Page 351.

ARTICLE IN THE "QUOTIDIENNE" (NEWSPAPER) ON THE RUSSIAN CONSPIRACY.

The following is the principal passage of those explanations given by the Russian government. "But, since the liberal journals reason thus before a listening public, let us endeavour to reply to them in a few words.

"Every country has its own laws and customs, formed by time; I can easily conceive that a government may be accused of having slighted them, but I do not know whether it be equally reasonable to ask it to reform them immediately, in order to adopt, brought about by conspiracy, certain forms which some two or three legislations of Europe have received after long efforts, and which depend perhaps on circumstances peculiar to them. The question is not to make in this place either a criticism or a eulogy on our own judicial institutions; they are fine and grand like all that our kings have done; but this is no reason why they should be applied to Russia, any more than it would be to apply the conditions of the Russian monarchy to the representative forms of our own government. To be good, the legislation of a country ought to be proper to it; a law that would be fit for all times and every place, would be good for no time nor for any country; now, all who are acquainted with the legislation of Russia, her history and traditions, know all that her sovereigns were able to do and can still do: and certainly they must allow that the trial which has just taken place, *shews a perceptible improvement in the exercise of the judicial power.* Less than a century ago, the will of the sovereign in Russia was sufficient to put to death the most powerful of his subjects; the sword was in the hands of the prince, together with the scales of justice, and several examples prove to us that Peter, and his immediate successors, used without control the violent power which custom had placed in their hands. In the present procedure, men of the highest intellect have been summoned together; amidst public passions and *the most difficult circumstances,* the court has proceeded with that calmness and circumspection so very uncommon in stormy periods. The liberal journals would doubtless have demanded a jury and publicity of proceedings, but the constitution of the state does not admit these forms which belong to other countries, and the Emperor Nicholas could not lay down for the present case of conspiracy, forms that had been rejected by the Emperor Alexander himself at the time of the last diet of Poland. We

ought also to observe, that the trial related to a military conspiracy, which even our own laws refer to a special tribunal, that this conspiracy burst forth in *a stormy period*, that there were confessions, the being taken *in flagrante delicto*, and *a sort of civil war;* that publicity might be a ferment of discord and might have rendered clemency impossible, by revealing in all their odious light (*odieux**) certain degrees of culpability which it would no longer have been possible to pardon."

Note (23), Page viii. (Preface).

M. NICHOLAS TOURGUENEFF'S BOOK, "LA RUSSIE ET LES RUSSES."

The text of our work was completely finished and sent to press when we heard, from the lips of M. Tourgueneff himself, with whom we had just had the honour of becoming acquainted, that his own memoirs, relating to the same period of the history of Russia, were in the press. We had only just time to insert the note which the reader has seen in Vol. II., p. 70, and as the advertised work appeared within a month with the title of "La Russie et les Russes," it was impossible for us to make it useful for this publication, excepting from page 443 of the same volume.

We much regret that we were deprived, during the course of our labours, of the information afforded by such an excellent author, a worthy pupil of the school of Stein, that equally wise and enlightened patriot. What we have said in the note of page 179 in the present volume, relative to the Russian *statesman*—the author of the pamphlet entitled "La Russie en 1844"—applies still more particularly to M. Tourgueneff. We should have found in his book much precious information which we might have advantageously employed.

But, after expressing this regret, let us also say, with the same candour, that we have been completely disappointed in our expectation of finding in this book a narrative of the events in which the author had been momentarily implicated. He enters into the question of the conspiracy only to refute the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry;" and, in our opinion, he does not always do so successfully. As to the rest, there is neither any detail nor any historical statement. M. Tourgueneff, who had been absent from

* This single expression would prove that the article was not penned by any one of the usual writers of the "Quotidienne."

Russia twenty months at the time of the revolt of 1825, devotes at most but a few lines to the facts which form the principal subject of our narrative. It is not a history that he wanted to give to the public, but first a justificatory memorial in his own cause, and next a collection of considerations and doctrines. On reading it, most readers will inquire: "What then is this conspiracy of which people speak so much, without making us acquainted with it?" And their excited curiosity will seek for further information, which we have endeavoured to afford. In this respect, therefore, the publication in question would have told us nothing new, whatever be its merit in other particulars.

Then again, there is a difference of opinion between ourselves and the honourable author of this publication. "If there were any societies," says he (vol. i. p. 344), "those societies remained powerless to do either good or evil: they did nothing, produced nothing; the men who afterwards did act, obeyed only their own individual will, and their participation, whether present or past, in any kind of society, had nothing to do with their conduct or their determination. Instead of connecting the insurrection with the existence of secret societies," he adds subsequently, "everything, on the contrary, inclines one to say, parodying a celebrated phrase, that it took place not *because* there were, but *although* there were secret societies."

This opinion, the principal basis of M. Tourgueneff's line of argument, we do not share, though we acknowledge the importance of testimony derived from personal experience. The participation of Pestel, Troubetzkoï, and others, in the secret societies, as also in the insurrection, does not allow us to admit it; the reader will moreover find a development of our reasons in vol. ii. chaps. ii. and vi. Nevertheless, we are very far from confounding the first founders of the secret societies with the conspirators of 1825; not only we are convinced that they had very different intentions, but we are even inclined to believe that the latter concealed their real projects in their presence, and that in what relates to secret societies, many things took place of which M. Tourgueneff, notwithstanding his being a member, had no knowledge.

On the whole, therefore, the book on Russia and the Russians, even if we had been able to avail ourselves of it, would not, by any means, have modified our opinions; and as to the esteem due to its author, the reader can see in our narrative that he was in full possession of ours before he had published any kind of justification.

THE END.

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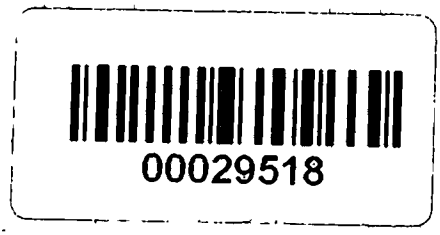
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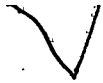

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